

Biblical Language and Structure in *Paradise Lost*

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ABSTRACT OF "BIBLICAL LANGUAGE AND STRUCTURE IN PARADISE LOST"

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Abstract of "Biblical Language and Structure in Paradise Lost"

by Willard McCarty

My subject is the relationship between the Bible and Paradise Lost. Accordingly the dissertation is divided into two major sections, the first devoted to the Bible, the second to the poem. In the first I examine the Bible according to a paradigm based on one of its most prominent themes, the Exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land, which I show to be a pattern of metaphor recurrent throughout the Bible and in fact a principal manifestation of biblical structure. I discuss this pattern both as a sequence of three metaphorical stages (Egypt, Wilderness, and Promised Land) and as an archetypal 'threshold event' at which the quester is confronted by a provoking vision, given some choice, and judged according to his response. The effect of this event or series of events is to perfect the quester by separating the good in him from the evil.

In the second section of the dissertation I study three segments of Satan's quest in the terms of this perfective process to illustrate the biblical structure of the poem as a whole. I use both biblical passages and classical analogues to show that each threshold is both a recurrence of the archetypal event and a clearer, more perfect stage in a developmental process.

Throughout I am concerned with the problem of fallen vision, "per speculum in aenigmate" (1 Cor 13:12), which I show to be profoundly narcissistic and relate both to the myth of Narcissus and its homologues

and to the typical threshold event of the biblical exodus. The nature of Satan's vision thus understood allows us, for example, to see that the sinister Eve is a satanic projection (shared in part by the reader) by which Satan is himself victimized and which exists simultaneously with the innocent Eve until the two are mixed at the Fall.

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Preface

The following consists of two major sections, the first concerning the Bible, the second *Paradise Lost*. In the Introduction I review the relevant criticism and suggest how my approach proceeds from its critical context. Chapter 1 is introductory to the first section; in it I demonstrate the need in Milton studies for a detailed examination of the Bible and then derive from traditional typology a means of understanding biblical narrative structure as a model or paradigm for literature, with *Paradise Lost* specifically in mind. I call this paradigm the 'exodus' after the central event of divine redemption in the Old Testament. Chapters 2 through 4 examine the three principal stages of this exodus--Egypt, Wilderness, and Promised Land--though for reasons of economy justified by the use to which it is put, the third stage receives but short shrift. Chapters 5 through 7 constitute the second section. They take up a study of Satan's heroic quest in the light of the exodus paradigm, attempting through a very detailed reading of some crucial events in the poem to illustrate how the structure of the Bible is the structure of Milton's epic, hence the principle of coherence to which all poetic phenomena are obedient. In the Conclusion I point out more generally the ways in which the biblical paradigm manifests itself in the poem and suggest directions for further research.

For the text of *Paradise Lost* I have used the Columbia edition of *The Works of John Milton*, and following my predecessors the Authorized (or King James)

Version as my standard biblical text, especially for verbal echoes in *Paradise Lost* (Sims, *The Bible in Milton's Epics*, 4-5). In the first section, references to other English translations will occasionally be appended to citations of chapter and verse, and when not the reader can be assured that they have at least been consulted as a check on the AV. I have also uniformly consulted and sometimes cited the relevant modern commentaries from among those listed in the Bibliography. For a Latin version of the Bible I have with Sims preferred the Vulgate, but I have checked it against the Junius-Tremellius translation in every case and noted the discrepancies in the notes whenever they occur.

All translations from Latin and German are my own except where noted and are studiously literal. Greek and Hebrew words have uniformly been transliterated, the Hebrew according to the "nontechnical" system in the *TDOT*. I have conventionally given Greek proper names in their familiar Latin spellings (thus 'Hephaestus' rather than 'Hephaistos') and have preferred the Roman names of originally Greek deities as Milton's usage dictated. I run against the grain of modern biblical scholarship by adopting the conventional authorship of the books of the Bible; thus, for example, though the book of Isaiah is commonly known to consist of at least three distinct authorial segments (Isaiah, Deutero-Isaiah, and Trito-Isaiah), I refer to one author.

In matters of format my guide has been the 1977 edition of the *MLA Handbook* with the modifications suggested in Carolyn G. Heilbrun, et al., "Report of the Advisory Committee on Documentation Style," *PMLA* 97(1982):318-24. In the Introduction I have diverged slightly from the citation format recommended by

the Committee by giving publication dates in all references to books and articles to assist my review of the criticism. For reasons of clarity I have also adopted my own conventions for underscoring (or italicization) and use of quotation marks. In quotations from *Paradise Lost* all underscoring is mine, for purposes of emphasis. I routinely use double quotation marks to indicate text taken or translated exactly from some source and single quotation marks for purposes of qualification or paraphrase.

The structure of this book is reflected in the Bibliography, which I have divided similarly into two major segments, and each segment in turn into further logical divisions. I arranged my sources in this way to make the Bibliography more useful as an independent research tool and to allow my readers a more convenient overview of my scholarly debts. This arrangement, however, occasionally makes finding a given item more difficult than it would be in a strictly alphabetical sequence, so I have provided in addition an index to the Bibliography.

The Russian poetess Marina Tsvetaeva has said that, "Art is an undertaking in common, performed by solitary people." The same is true for scholarship. When only the solitude was knowable, I was given intellectual and emotional companionship by teachers, friends, colleagues, and, above all, by my family. To all these generous people, and to some especially, goes the "unexpressive notes" Milton and his teachers have taught me to sing.

Introduction

Paradise Lost itself is only a fragment in a still larger context, the literature of the past; and before we can feel that we have exhausted the meanings latent or dormant in a given passage, we should also study it in relation to that framework.

Davis P. Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 76

The task of commentary can never, by definition, be completed. And yet commentary is directed entirely towards the enigmatic, murmured element of the language being commented on: it calls into being, below the existing discourse, another discourse that is more fundamental and, as it were, 'more primal', which it sets itself the task of restoring. There can be no commentary unless, below the language one is reading and deciphering, there runs the sovereignty of an original Text. And it is this text which, by providing a foundation for the commentary, offers its ultimate revelation as the promised reward of commentary. The necessary proliferation of the exegesis is therefore measured, ideally limited, and yet ceaselessly animated, by this silent dominion.

Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 41

Broadly speaking, the present work is a study of the relationship between *Paradise Lost* and the Bible, its "original Text." My aim is to define a structural paradigm for the Bible--what I will call the 'exodus'--and to show how this paradigm leads toward a unified theory for Milton's epic. Again broadly speaking, its method is a prolonged meditation on the obvious: the words of the poetic text and their resonances, principally with the Bible but also with certain recurrent figures and images from the standard classical works.

To study the obvious is in this case not to belabour it. With respect to the Bible, precious little labour has been spent recovering from reverential neglect what is presumed to be understood, and because Milton's use of the Bible has determined his use of all else, otherwise excellent work has been less effective than it deserves to be. There are, perhaps, several reasons for this neglect. Certainly one is the general decline in knowledge of the Bible, which one no longer acquires as a mother tongue and which some moderns (attempting, like Belial, to find comfort in their ignorance) declare to be irrelevant. Another may be indicated by Northrop Frye's remark that the Bible "would still be a popular book if it were not a sacred one" (*Anatomy of Criticism*, 116). Both might be traced to a fact of fallen human nature, so well illustrated in *Paradise Lost* itself, that concealment and fascination are curiously inseparable. But more, and much more, about that later.

Technically the kind of criticism undertaken here is archetypal, by which I mean, with Frye, a criticism that concentrates on the generic, recurring, or conventional elements and whose context is the body of literature as a whole.¹ As I have said already, for my study this context is the Bible. I have not, however, assumed any general agreement on what is meant by 'the Bible' in a literary critical argument. In fact, my chief quarrel with existing studies of the biblical background to *Paradise Lost* is with the kind of thing, or structure, they assume the Bible to be. Often the assumption is silent and goes unexamined.

The present work began with the intention of deriving, in the course of a commentary on *Paradise Lost*, an understanding of the Bible that would account for Milton's use of biblical allusions and classical analogues in other than the largely decorative or atmospheric sense usually proposed. I quickly discovered that the Bible was unexplored elsewhere in the context of literary criticism and so complex in itself that I had to allow several chapters to it alone and even then (like Swift) to be studious of brevity. The result is the nearly book-length 'preface' that takes up the first four chapters and contains very few references to *Paradise Lost*, though the poem is everywhere in mind. In these chapters I construct a model of the Bible from the perspective of archetypal literary criticism; that is, I derive an archetypal structure from certain recurrent patterns of biblical imagery and describe its characteristic language. In the remaining part of the work I provide a selective commentary on a section of *Paradise Lost*--specifically on Satan's epic journey from Hell to the New World and back--in the light of that model.

My claims for the biblical model are limited by the kind of thing it is, a 'model' or critical construct whose validity must be judged by its truth to the evidence and by its usefulness in explicating the poem. I offer no proof that such a way of reading the Bible was common in the Seventeenth Century, nor do I see any way of providing it in a form relevant to my conception of literary criticism, for which extrinsic information may be suggestive but can never be conclusive. Some historical studies that I will mention establish a certain probability that my results are not hopelessly anachronistic and historically provincial, but within the terms of my argument their primary value is to quell anxiety so that what I say may be heard for what it is worth.

Any literary critic with an interdisciplinary eye will find repeatedly that his perspective on fields other than his own differs markedly from that shared by scholars within those fields. He may use their studies, but usually in a context far different than the one intended. I am such a critic, who finds in modern biblical scholarship and comparative religion tools of great use in the practice of literary criticism. They are our helps (as Bacon would say), our windows on the text Milton also read. I have not found them sufficient by any means, of course; few biblical scholars, for example, have the inclination for exhaustive analysis of recurrent image clusters, and until recently few would have admitted the validity of an exegesis that recognizes but often transcends differences in supposed 'sources.' But more about that later.

Having spoken in a rash and revolutionary manner of things unattempted yet in literary or biblical criticism, I will devote the remainder of my introduction to righting the balance, that is, to establishing the critical context into which the present work fits. This context naturally falls into two segments, the primary one Milton criticism, and the secondary one biblical and related Near Eastern scholarship. Since the latter is thoroughly subsumed by a literary critical argument, I will not summarize it with the same degree of thoroughness I have attempted for the Milton material. My bibliography is likewise divided; in it the reader will find many items not otherwise cited. All of them, however, have been helpful.

In my discussion of the criticism I have chosen to avoid the form of the catalogue insofar as possible. The reader will not be given exhaustive lists of books and articles on this and that subject, rather a survey of the five major areas of Milton criticism relevant to my topic with brief discussions of the chief works in each area. The discussions are evaluative and several negatively so, for though the areas are heavily trafficked, the path I have taken is new and, I would argue, less beset by foolish fires and hence by sloughs of despond, against which I feel obliged to give some warning.

I. Milton Criticism.

1. Of structure.

Surveying the critical plenitude in 1965, Robert Adams complained of "a forest of choking luxuriance" and remarked that the contemporary prospect "calls out...not for more and newer insights into Milton, but for some secure principle of controlling and co-ordinating what we already know (*Ikon*, viii)." That call had already been answered, though not specifically for Milton, in Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), where the details of literature are subordinated to a great organizing pattern, but it has taken some time for the many implications of this seminal work to be perceived and assimilated. With the publication of *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (1982), which I discuss below, those implications are now much more difficult to ignore.

Some three years after Adams' complaint, Irene Samuel noted in her review of the criticism (217-20) a shift towards a concern with central patterns that she saw culminate in Isabel MacCaffrey's study of mythical structure, *Paradise Lost as "Myth"* (1967), to which I will return. Of course 'structure' in some sense had long been a subject for criticism: as Arthur Barker pointed out in 1949, Milton's "last recorded comment" on *Paradise Lost* was the change from a ten book to a twelve book design, with its several consequences (18-19). Like Barker, A. S. P. Woodhouse discussed the framework of the poem, and like him he attributed it to classical epic structure--an unchallenged commonplace of criticism until quite recently. Generally, Woodhouse confined his remarks on biblical matters to their traditional Christian form and assigned them a thematic, rather than a truly structural, function.²

What Samuel remarked on was a growing concern with structure in rather a different sense from either the partitioning of the argument or the shaping of the major themes. Such a sense begins, for example, with the deliberate parallel between the journeys of Adam and of Aeneas that Barker also mentioned but did not develop; more recently this parallel has been noted with increasing attention to its significance as a mythological framework.³ As I will show later, critical studies of Satan, the great traveler of *Paradise Lost*, have increasingly tended to focus both on the shape of his journey and on what happens to him as a result of undergoing it, that is, on the spatial and temporal aspects of a particular structure by which his existence is defined. Critics have pointed to the journey motif in general, to large patterns of ascent and descent in the poem, and to the typically circular shape of the journey, both as an image of perfection and of end-less, futile movement, akin to labyrinthine wandering.⁴

One other structural motif that has received recent attention is the cosmic body, or what I call the *macranthropos*.⁵ Years ago in *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (1942), C. S. Lewis remarked that the "hairie sides" of the Paradisal hill (4.135) reveal that "the happy garden is an image of the human body" (49); indeed, Book 4 supplies numerous other examples of like metaphors, with their connection to the corporeal imagery of the Canticles and, more generally, to the archaic symbolism of sacred boundaries, as I will show. Subsequent to Lewis, Barbara Lewalski noted the embryonic quality of man's life in Paradise,⁶ and Marjorie Nicolson and Michael Lieb provided a medieval and Renaissance background for the metaphor.⁷ Most of the work on Milton's macranthropic imagery, however, has focused on the demonic. In "Milton's Hell" (1954) J. B. Broadbent, for example, took notice of the obvious visceral metaphors of Hell (173-4), and most recently Michael Lieb has enlarged the catalogue of corporeal and scatological images throughout Milton's works.⁸ Thus to asperse Satan's infamous appeal with images of filth and obscenity is a fairly direct and well-worn technique, but the real significance of these macranthropic metaphors, I think, is structural: to suggest the shadowy presence of a great universal body inside of which most of the action of the poem takes place. One wonders how productive an investigation along these lines would be.

For my purposes the most interesting work on structural principles is that concerned with biblical motifs and with typology. For the moment, however, I wish to postpone discussion of those areas in order to establish their critical context and necessity.

Even if one includes the biblical and typological material, one does not exhaust what could be and have been considered 'structural' motifs, for we are not talking about a certain class of poetic artifacts but an organizing power of the critical vision. One must ask, however, to what extent the products of this vision have satisfied Robert Adams' demand for a controlling or organizing principle. *Paradise Lost* is a physically limited but critically inexhaustible poem; if it is an artistic unity, then its body of commentary should have a shape. Can we see a shape or determine a common basis on which it can be articulated?

I will offer a tentative answer to this question, first by comparing the work of two scholars, Michael Lieb and Isabel MacCaffrey, and then by suggesting how developments in the study of the biblical roots of *Paradise Lost* have led to my argument. The work of Professors Lieb and MacCaffrey is sufficiently close to my own that it can illuminate, though it does not answer, the questions on which my study focuses.

Lieb's two major books are *The Dialectics of Creation* (1970) and *Poetics of the Holy* (1981). Both are the products of a keen and vigorous interpretive sense, but neither supplies Adams' controlling principle to help the reader resolve that ever more dense "forest of choking luxuriance" into a garden of nourishing abundance. We get "patterns," but no *pattern*. Often in this book, one suspects, he goes wrong because he has no larger context or framework to which to refer; and when in the latter book--following his own advice that "If anything needs to be fully elucidated for the modern reader, it is the

biblical background and...the 'buried meanings of English words'" ("Recent Work on Milton," 74)--he pays attention to a "hierophanic outlook" and to the "Res Sacrae" of the Bible, it is without any grasp of biblical structure. Thus neither book works towards a unified theory of the poem's inexhaustible wealth; at most we get yet another way of looking at the poem that adds to the critical store without shaping it. Surely it is plain that a catalogue, even a meta-catalogue, can never in itself lead to a unified theory.

In contrast to Lieb's approach, Isabel Gamble MacCaffrey's *Paradise Lost as "Myth"* (1967) addresses itself directly to the need for a controlling principle. MacCaffrey's understanding of myth owes a large debt to the work of Ernst Cassirer, whose philosophical enquiry emphasizes the structure and formal unity inherent in myths of all kinds;⁹ she shows that emphasis in her literary concern with "the *formal* nature of the myth as material for poetry: what is demanded of a poem if it is to maintain decorum with the mythic subject of *Paradise Lost*" (19). MacCaffrey attempts to provide (with the help of Joseph Campbell) a three-fold mythic paradigm, which she finds in the Bible, in *Lycidas*, and in *Paradise Lost*: an initial state of innocence; its loss, resulting in a wandering exile through the wilderness of the world; and its restoration in a golden age.

So far, so good: her explication of this pattern in the poetry is skillful, subtle, and given her theoretical construct, thorough. More important is her aim, her attempt at a universal paradigm to which the phenomena of the poetry might be obedient. She falls short of the mark, however, because her mythical model is assumed rather than examined: she has transplanted it from outside

the discipline of criticism rather than generated or assimilated it by the logic intrinsic to that discipline. Its theoretical solidity for criticism is, therefore, easily called into question. Whether or not Milton's structural model is indeed universal, the mode or characteristic shape of that model is biblical. Had MacCaffrey studied the biblical myth instead of Campbell's "monomyth" she likely would have seen that her threefold paradigm is only a first approximation of something far more complex and powerful, and that the mythical structuring of *Paradise Lost* is considerably more complete and detailed than her paradigm can reveal.

Much of the resistance to words such as 'archetype' and 'myth' comes, I think, from the feeling that the minute particulars of the poem are being overlooked and therefore its identity lost. This feeling is indeed justified when the universal truth is confused with the generalization, and one need only follow the uncritical uses of such words in the last several years to gather abundant evidence of such confusion.¹⁰ On the other hand, these terms, or the ideas behind them, are unavoidable if we are to have a governing principle of interpretation. My contention is that for Milton's poetry one escapes the Scylla of un-principled criticism and the Charybdis of pseudo-archetypal analysis only by a rigorous grounding in the language of "some one true history"¹¹--that is, the Bible--whose imprint is visible in the smallest details as well as in the largest patterns of ~~the~~⁹ *Paradise Lost*.

2. Of the Bible.

As I remarked earlier, the very obviousness of Milton's dependence on the Bible and the way that book has been regarded since Milton's time have impeded

close analysis of his most important 'source' (a word to be used with care). Yet such analysis is clearly a Miltonic activity. In *Biblical Criticism and Heresy in Milton* (1949), George Newton Conklin pointed out that Milton was a radically independent and able biblical scholar in the age of "sacred philology," when the belief was common "that understanding of all things divine rested upon analysis of the original scriptural text" (22).¹² For the literary critic respectful of historical methods, Conklin's simple, well-documented observation would seem to imply that a right understanding of Milton's poetry also rests upon such close and thoughtful inspection of the Bible. Few, however, have looked at it directly; most have looked around it: some to Milton's prose, some to his age, some to biblical commentaries, glosses, and traditions. I will mention only a few of these.¹³

Of the general historical background studies aside from Conklin's the most recent is John R. Knott's *The Sword of the Spirit: Puritan Responses to the Bible* (1980). As is typical for this kind of scholarship, Knott's strength lies with his application of historical materials to Milton's prose rather than to the poetry, on which he is brief and inadequate. His emphasis on "the living Word," however, helps us to grasp "the explosiveness of the Bible and of its impact" on the imaginations of Puritan writers (12) and hence to be better prepared for the intensity of Milton's "sacred philology." Burton O. Kurth's *Milton and Christian Heroism: Biblical Epic Themes and Forms in Seventeenth-Century England* (1959) is more specifically about the poetry, but like Knott his purpose is to establish an intellectual and literary setting. Thus his examination of Old Testament heroic poetry is general, his interest in Milton thematic. The structures--ultimately the one structure--of both the Bible and *Paradise Lost* go unexamined.

One particular variety of historical study apparently closer to my interests is that which focuses on Milton's "hebraism," i.e., his use of Hebrew literature. One may cite the pioneering work of Harris Francis Fletcher,¹⁴ and the writings of Saurat (1925), Whiting (1932), Conklin (1949), Fisch (1964, 1967), Cohen (1975), and others.¹⁵ With one interesting and instructive exception, these are of little direct interest here, as they avoid the necessary examination of the biblical text itself, most often replacing that examination with forays into extra-biblical Hebrew writings.

The ostensible reason for such centrifugal forays is the great disparity between the skeletal simplicity of the Genesis story and the fullness of detail in *Paradise Lost*. Obviously (so the argument runs) Milton got his material from somewhere else, and when open parallels are found on matters hardly susceptible to coincidence, few critics can resist the bait. Direct and specific borrowing is alledged less commonly than was once the case, as there are so many competing, equally cogent claims, but still the implied relationship between supposed sources and the known destination is either inadequate or obscure. Examples will follow.

One interesting exception to the general trend is Harold Fisch's lengthy article, "Hebraic Style and Motifs in *Paradise Lost*" (1967). Though Fisch argues for Milton's use of rabbinic commentaries--a matter of indifference here--his evidence is useful to literary exegesis of the Bible because it demonstrates the workings of an archetypal imagination. In his discussion of the commentary in the "Rabbinic" or Buxtorf Bible (36-8), Fisch cites

observations by Rashi and Kimchi in which the patterns or paradigms implicit in the biblical text are brought out. Whether or not Milton borrowed these observations or found enlightenment through them, they suggest an interpretative method Milton certainly shared with the rabbinic exegetes, whatever their differences. Less happily, however, Fisch is preoccupied with a supposed conflict or counterpoint within Milton's epic between Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions. The illumination of structural patterns is nevertheless timely.

One of the few books that explicitly studies the relationship between *Paradise Lost* and the Bible is James H. Sims's *The Bible in Milton's Epics* (1962). The core of the book is a catalogue of biblical allusions, preceding it a series of chapters in which the author discusses the poetry in light of his catalogue. The discussion, largely concerned with the creation of literary illusion through biblical allusion, is disappointing because it largely reduces the Bible to the role of literary 'property' (in the theatrical sense). Even when he is on firmer ground with the specific contributions of certain allusions to the argument, his idea or model of the Bible remains the exceedingly reductive one permitted by the mental form of the catalogue. As I will show in the next chapter, that model severely distorts or obscures the importance of certain kinds of allusions because it recognizes neither a principle of selection beyond closeness of verbal echo nor a significance unrelated to numerical superiority. It may be a useful place to start, but it is methodologically and critically sterile.

Another approach to Milton's use of the Scriptures has been to concentrate on specific books of the Bible, particularly Genesis, Job, and Revelation.¹⁶ Since the poet's debt to Genesis is the most immediately striking, that book has attracted scholarly attention for some time. Works such as Sr. Mary Irma Corcoran's *Milton's Paradise with Reference to the Hexameral Background* (1945) and Arnold Williams' *The Common Expositor* (1948) deal with the body of traditional material grown up around Genesis, but not with the book itself in its biblical context.¹⁷ A recent study by Dennis H. Burden, *The Logical Epic* (1967), tells us more about the relationship between the poem and Genesis by documenting the 'logical' consequences of that skeletal story and thus alerting us to the density beneath its deceptively simple exterior. Burden points to the poet's power of "stitching up the various exhortations in Genesis about life in the Garden into a more coherent pattern than Genesis itself provides" (45), but despite his deductive abilities he does not see the biblical origins of that power.

One of the most weighty studies of Milton is J. M. Evans' *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition* (1968), which follows in the steps of Corcoran and Williams. Though Evans typically attempts to demonstrate the "original" (i.e., new) features of *Paradise Lost* in the second part of his book, his view of the poem, as of the Bible in the first part, is thoroughly reductive. In his conception the poet's mind is an omnivorous and rather indiscriminate 'blender' in which patristic interpretations of the Fall (allegorical, typological, and literal) are mixed with "notions derived, directly or indirectly, from rabbinic commentaries, apocryphal documents, Christian-Latin Biblical epics, medieval legends, and recent plays, poems, and tracts on the

same subject"--all this is documented--and then put into "the framework of a coherent narrative structure modelled partly on the *Aeneid*, partly on *Adamus Exul*" (219).

He begins his book with the old puzzle of how Milton could have derived so much from so little, and as one would expect he turns to "the vast and complex series of elaborations" he supposes to have supplied the deficiencies, or solved the puzzles, evident in the biblical account of the Fall (10). These puzzles are laid at two doors: changing cultural fashions and the fragmentary nature of the biblical narrative itself, which he conceives according to the model formulated by Julius Wellhausen and his followers.¹⁸ It is perhaps not surprising that with such a view of the Bible Evans, in effect, finds it wanting and resorts to its post-biblical accretions. No controlling principle here.

More recently the book of Revelation has attracted scholarly attention along with the prophetic mode it is seen as exemplifying for the Bible. In "The Apocalypse within *Paradise Lost*" (1969), Michael Fixler suggests that "Milton based *Paradise Lost* on an elaborate systematic transformation of the Apocalypse" (131) and claims a structural relationship between the two. The complicated correspondence he proposes is highly problematic and ends in an admission of failure: in the light of his construct much in the poem appears "anomalous and irregular" (171). Austin C. Dobbins, in *Milton and the Book of Revelation* (1975), tries to connect the poem and its apocalyptic source without coming to terms with the exceedingly complex nature of the latter and so can shed no real light on the former. He appears to be unaware both that

the Apocalypse is a dense network of allusions to the Old Testament and that it is the least self-evident book in the Bible and cannot simply be referred to as if we all understood it; we don't.¹⁹

Of the books on Milton's relation to prophecy, the most interesting for my purposes is William Kerrigan's *The Prophetic Milton* (1974). Kerrigan scrutinizes the poet's identification with the biblical prophets of God, and this leads him to a consideration of their characteristic view of history and hence preoccupation with "the eternal shapes of time" (219), which they express through "the divine art of typology" (226). He sees that typology is an expression both of the linearity of history and of 'escape' from the temporal--most critics tend to overemphasize the former at the expense of the latter--and applies his understanding to show how Milton imitates the typological contraction of time in some of the early poems (226-8). Speaking of the poetry as a whole, he points to the "curiously anticipatory...and incomplete" quality of events (228), in which the prophetic, typological perspective is fundamentally active, and to the imagery of the special or central moment that structures the epic action (228ff).²⁰ Unfortunately, though Kerrigan grasps a central aspect of biblical narrative structure, he does not elaborate or apply his insights to the Bible in any detail.

Two more recent books on Milton's prophetic attributes and lineage are, in my opinion, less successful and certainly less relevant to my interests here. One, Lieb's *Poetics of the Holy* (1981), I have already discussed above in another context. Following the work of Rudolf Otto (1917), William Robertson Smith (1927), and others, Lieb focuses on *Paradise Lost* "as a sacral document,

one that gives rise to a hierophantic outlook that compliments and reinforces the vatic point of view" (xx), but, as I remarked before, makes no significant contribution to the clarification of Milton's poetic structure.

The other is Joseph Wittreich's *Visionary Poetics* (1979). Wittreich points to the importance of the Book of Revelation as "the most perfect example of prophecy" for the Renaissance (xiv) and cites the commentaries of Pareus, Mede, and More as testimonies to its "carefully defined structure" (43), but he never says what that structure is. Likewise, he notes the densely allusive character of Revelation but does not explore it. His interests are decidedly elsewhere, with the history of the prophetic genre and aesthetic that he relates to Milton's poetry, especially to *Lycidas*, in the latter half of the book.²¹

One other study of a section of the Bible in relation to Milton is Virginia R. Mollenkott's article, "The Pervasive Influence of the Apocrypha in Milton's Thought and Art" (1979). Of course no part of the Bible should be ignored by Milton scholars--especially that part containing the author of Wisdom's commentary on the Exodus--but the primary significance of Mollenkott's essay lies, I think, in her largely undeveloped comment that the Apocrypha represents the union of Greek and Hebrew thought. Now this is nothing new to Bible scholars, but Miltonists would do well to look into such an early example of the joining of our two primary cultural components.²²

Earlier I commented that Harold Fisch's study of Milton's "hebraism," "Hebraic Style and Motifs in *Paradise Lost*" (1967), illuminates a crucial rabbinic insight into biblical structure, the recurrence of certain patterns or paradigms of divine and human action. Particularly, for reasons that will soon become apparent, the importance attached to the Exodus by Rashi and Kimchi is a clue of the first order to the underlying principle called for by Adams and developed at length in the present work. In his article, "*Paradise Lost* and the Theme of Exodus" (1970), John T. Shawcross has looked into this central biblical motif and applied it to Milton's poem, but having derived his biblical knowledge at second-hand,²³ he is hardly equipped to appreciate the complexity and power of the subject matter he attempts to discuss within such a narrow compass.

Shawcross' discussion fails from the vagueness and lack of subtlety that comes from an insufficient grasp of details and hence of the principle behind them. He also ignores recent work on typology, which (being a study of textual recurrence) suggests in a number of ways how such a pattern as the exodus can be derived and understood without becoming either trivial or Procrustean. He conceives of the exodus in a rigid manner and applies it as a local motif rather than as an archetypal framework, so that his discussion does not (and cannot) result in an increased understanding of fundamental structure in *Paradise Lost*. His carelessness with such terms as "womb symbol" and "female archetype," for which he sees no need to provide a contextual justification (cf. 22-3), shows the same disregard for mythic form in the very act of using its vocabulary. A literary critic should know that context determines the actualizing of potential meaning: a real grasp of literary structure begins with that knowledge.²⁴

A more promising approach is that taken by Mother Mary Christopher Pecheux in "Abraham, Adam, and the Theme of Exile in *Paradise Lost*" (1965). Although this study is limited to the parallel between Abraham and Adam, Pecheux's sense of the divine plan manifested in motifs of exile and wandering in the Bible shows precisely the sensitivity to archetypal patterning that could lead to a general theory of biblical poetic structure. What is required is not only a more detailed examination of the Bible but also an insight into the implications of the traditional method for understanding biblical unity, to which I now turn.

3. Of typology.

Since Northrop Frye's call in *Anatomy of Criticism* for a typological study of the Bible as a precondition to the development of literary criticism (315-16; cf. 14, 191, 204), many books and articles have been written on this subject, several specifically concerned with Milton. Most of these are either historical studies of typological exegesis in the Seventeenth Century, or critical explorations of literary typology, that is, the literary application of typological structure. As a rule, these literary studies ignore the complex nature of typology and its implications for the Bible as a whole.

The question of typological exegesis involves the more general problem faced by Hugh MacCallum in "Milton and Figurative Interpretation of the Bible" (1962). He shows Milton's Calvinistic rejection of the medieval scheme for multiple senses of scripture and points to his distrust of metaphor in the

later prose and conservative attitude toward types. MacCallum recognizes that these views, based on the prose, "can at best provide only an uncertain guide" for the poetry (409-10), but his suggestions for reassessment of the critical tendencies to apply traditional allegorical and typological theory to the poetry or to read it in a Neoplatonic framework are cogent and have been heeded. Still, one is left wondering about the poetry. His later article, "Milton and Sacred History" (1964), uses typological exegesis to throw light on "the unified structure and dramatic form of the last books" (150), but he also makes observations on the internal typology of the Old Testament and of *Paradise Lost*. Several critics have subsequently developed our understanding of the latter kind.

Among the best known of the studies on Milton's poetic use of typology are the investigations by William G. Madsen, beginning with "Earth the Shadow of Heaven" (1960)--where one Neoplatonic reading is overturned--and culminating in *From Shadowy Types to Truth* (1968). Madsen's conception of typology and its relation to Milton's poetry seems to be consonant with his view of the poet, whom in the latter study he sees as a preacher rather than a Moses Angelicus or an Orphic bard (81), contrary to the work of Kerrigan and others and to Milton's own declaration in the invocation to Book 3 of *Paradise Lost*. Consequently, his interest is in the *doctrine* of typology, and he has the predictable antagonism to metaphor, hence to such studies as MacCaffrey's. His attack on the structural criticism of *Lycidas* by those who view the poem as a simultaneous pattern (8-9) betrays a conception of typology in which the vertical component is severely truncated.

David Shelley Berkeley, in *Inwrought with Figures Dim: A Reading of Milton's 'Lycidas'* (1974), takes specific exception to Madsen's view of typology, though he is likewise interested in the ways it can be used to understand the inner structure of a poem. "Milton discerns in the stages of the life of Lycidas," he shows, "an unfolding of a divine plan, each being significant in its own time and each adumbrating the character of the final culmination" (14). Berkeley makes the useful distinction between "eschatological typology," which emphasizes the horizontal relation of types to antitypes within history, and the "ontological" kind, which stresses the eternality of the antitype (18-19). His understanding of typology is derived from Eric Auerbach, whom he quotes; Auerbach more wisely does not speak of two typologies but of two aspects of the one complex and paradoxical idea, as we will see in the next chapter.

The most thorough exposition of typology in the context of literature in this period is Joseph A. Galdon's *Typology and Seventeenth-Century Literature* (1975). Galdon understands that typology is more than an exegetical technique: "It represents, in a broader sense, a world view" and a theology of history based on the presence of the eternal in every moment (5). Like Berkeley, he has profited from reading Auerbach, from whom, one suspects, he has gained his crucial insights into the verticality of the connection between type and antitype, or what he calls "the relevance of the divine, which essentially characterizes the biblical view of history" (54). Unfortunately, he makes no specific comments on the relation between typology thus conceived and biblical structure. The last several chapters of the book discuss typological

commonplaces in Seventeenth Century literature, valuable enough in themselves but not leading to any more general insights.

In his book *Milton's Poetry: Its Development in Time* (1979), Edward W. Tayler comes to grips with the rhythm or pattern of anticipation and fulfillment in Milton's poetry at considerably greater length than Kerrigan, though their points of view on typology are similar. In his chapter entitled "*Paradise Lost: From Shadows to Truth*," he (like MacCallum) concentrates chiefly on the last two books of the poem to show how "the poet uses methods of exegesis as literary technique, transmitting futurity through the theory of types" (88). In his discussion of the word 'wander' (91-104), he verges on the problem of biblical narrative structure and its relation to the poem, and he cites the Israelite Exodus as a significant pattern for our understanding of Satan's journey and of the expulsion from Eden. His specific focus on the senses of time in Milton's poetry leads him to the essential view of history "as countless numbers of alphas and omegas that represent smaller parentheses within the larger parenthesis that is 'time' itself" (187), but he does not apply this view to its biblical original.

Of the historical studies on typology the most interesting are those by Barbara Lewalski, culminating in *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (1979), and the recent book by Ira Clark, *Christ Revealed: The History of the Neotypological Lyric in the English Renaissance* (1982). Both scholars focus on a habit of mind characteristic of English Protestants after Luther and Calvin by which contemporary man assimilated himself and his world to Old Testament figures and circumstances.²⁵ As

Lewalski shows in this book, the English Puritans could thus think of themselves as a genuine recapitulation of the Israelites--delivered from Pharaoh, called out of Egypt, embattled in the Wilderness, and on the way to their Promised Land (129ff). The resulting view of the Old Testament she calls "correlative typology," while Clark argues for the genre named in his title. These are historical arguments, so it is not surprising that neither recognizes the intrinsic potential for this identification that the Bible itself provides and early Christianity understood.²⁶ In any case, correlative typology supplies strong evidence in support of Knott's argument for the intensity of biblical thought in Milton's age, and as he points out in *The Sword of the Spirit*, it testifies to the "essentially ahistorical leap" that such a habit of mind takes into identity with the archetypal story of redemption (29). Such leaps themselves point to the presence of the eternal within the significant historical moment.

Essentially my reading of *Paradise Lost* results from an exploration of the biblical language in which this significant historical moment is expressed. In spatial terms the moment is a threshold; then, by extension, it becomes a metaphorical landscape in which the exodus journey takes place. As I argue later, the exodus expresses a structural principle found on all four levels of Milton's poetic universe, but for reasons of economy I explore it only as it relates to the quest of Satan. I must, therefore, have something to do with the extensive body of commentary that has grown up around Satan, the poem's best known and, next to God the Father, its least understood figure. Because this brings us into contact with the poem, I will also include some remarks on the critical studies of Milton's classical imagery.

4. Of Satan.

"One approaches the problem of Satan," comments Thomas Kranidas, "with a caution bred of reading too many studies of him" (*The Fierce Equation*, 119). Indeed, since the Romantic period there has been no more controversial aspect of *Paradise Lost* than the poet's Satan, hence the excess of studies to which I unashamedly add one more. My intention, however, is to provide a context for them all.

The history of Satan criticism runs the gamut from admiration to ridicule. Balachandra Rajan, in his *Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader* (1947), points out that for the literary century begun by the Romantic poets, Satan was invariably somewhat of a hero, if not fully so (93). Then, as Miltonists all know, Charles Williams took up the challenge that was soon after amplified by C. S. Lewis, who made the definitive statement of Satan's 'degeneration' (as it has come to be known) in *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (1942):

From hero to general, from general to politician, from politician to secret service agent, and thence to a thing that peers in at bedroom or bathroom windows, and thence to a toad, and finally to a snake-- such is the progress of Satan. (99).

Lewis, however, was far more interested in doctrine than poetry, and so even though these characterizations indisputably mark the major stages of Satan's decline, his argument (Helen Gardner remarked six years later) is incapable of

explaining the imaginative power Satan commands for the Romantic poets and modern readers alike, or "why, as one re-reads the poem, the exposure of Satan's malice and meanness seems curiously irrelevant" (205-6). Dame Helen pointed to the tragic forms of damnation in earlier English drama, but the question she asked has provoked a variety of other answers.²⁷

A. J. A. Waldock, in *Paradise Lost and its Critics* (1947), sought his answer in a supposed flaw in a basic conception of the poem: that Satan's 'degeneration' is an externally imposed 'degradation' and that the degraded Fiend is inconsistent with his initially powerful manifestation. Coming to the poem with expectations of poetic error, Waldock was hindered from looking deeply enough into the imagery to find the internal consistency of Satan's degeneration, but his argument served the useful purpose of alerting us to the inherently abrupt, discontinuous rhythm of the transformation Satan undergoes from first to last. The significance Waldock missed in this discontinuity has been pointed out by Tayler, whose book I have already mentioned. He has perceptively taken objection to the term 'degeneration' as implying a transformation from one state into another entirely distinct from the first, hence the need to suppose an externally inflicted degradation. Milton goes to some trouble to establish that Satan's initial fall is all the way down to "bottomless perdition" (PL 1.47), an eternal event; "What we witness, then, is not a process of degeneration but rather the stripping away of accident, the outward veil, until the essence appears" (68). Tayler calls this "progressive revelation," as indeed it is, but the sense of development, of degeneration properly understood, is not banished by revelation. What is required is a more thorough understanding of biblical history, that is, of biblical narrative structure, than Tayler provides.

Waldock's charge has also been answered somewhat differently by Thomas Kranidas in *The Fierce Equation* (1965). With fine sensitivity he discusses Satan's dramatic isolation of self, a "retreat" into pure selfhood, consistent with the poet's editorial remarks (supposed by Waldock to be jarringly incursive) and the suppression of emotions that gradually hardens into external disguise and compulsive metamorphosis with the "turn of the screw of self" (123).²⁸ His emphasis is on "the continuous process" by which Satan degenerates in "smoothly anticipated" stages; he therefore tends to undervalue the biblical sense of discontinuous revelation Waldock detected but misinterpreted.

Kranidas' book also lends perspective to other, similar accusations of inconsistency and the critical shifts used to explain them. In this company are such diverse works as R. J. Zwi Werblowsky's *Lucifer and Prometheus* (1952) and Stanley Eugene Fish's *Surprised by Sin* (1967). Werblowsky traces the "shortcomings" of the poem (derived from Waldock) to the nature of the human soul (derived from Jung) as expressed in the myths named in his title. Fish comes to terms with the poet's corrective intrusions and with supposed inconsistencies in the poem by hypothesizing a rhythm of revelatory misreading and stern chastisement. This solution, however clever it may be, vanishes with its illusory problem: Fish has apparently not studied the imagery closely enough to see that the 'surprises' are surprising (in his sense) only to the careless or inept reader, whose mistakes are no more profound than any common foible that flesh is heir to. What Fish has touched on is the principle that the reader finds himself in Satan;²⁹ as Michael G. Cooke has said,

Satan is our proleptic substitute, our stalking-horse in the field of self-enactment. The profile of his act and its consequences is, in the purest undisguised form, ours (91).

The structure of that perfective journey--or exodus--towards the Promised Land of revelation is my concern.

There are several studies of Satan's epic journey, but none of them has a clue to its structure.³⁰ On the one hand, as Lewis and Satan both realize, his progress is ever downwards, no matter in what direction; on the other hand, his journey is an heroic adventure, full of outbursts and surprising epiphanies. A paradigm adequate to such a narrative must comprehend both the continuous and discontinuous aspects. I will show that the biblical exodus pattern does precisely that.

I have mentioned, without qualification, Satan's 'heroic' journey as many have spoken of his 'heroic' stature and attributes, especially at the beginning, and any close reading of the text will reveal that these are derived from classical figures. So also some have offered, and others rejected, suggestions that there is something suspiciously corrupt or corrupting about the classical gardens and goddesses clustering about Paradise and its mistress as Satan observes them. Involvement with Satan thus forces us to come to terms with Milton's use of classical mythology, which is unavoidable in any case for much more important reasons. I would like to make a few observations on the criticism in this area.

5. Of the classics.

In general the classics have received more thorough and balanced treatment with respect to *Paradise Lost* than has the Bible. There is now general agreement that Milton uses classical myths as analogues for the biblical story (both positively and negatively), and few object, as did Eighteenth Century critics, to the poet's mixture of pagan with Christian material or even find it particularly troublesome.³¹

As I will indicate in the appropriate places in my argument, there is much less agreement on the poet's specific application of classical motifs to Satan and to his victims, particularly Eve. The problem is not merely Satan's Homeric modality ('Is he or is he not a classical hero?') but more, perhaps, the degree to which the myths of a fallen world affect or are affected by the unfallen one to which they are applied.

On the former issue Francis C. Blessington, in *Paradise Lost and the Classical Epic* (1979), rescues the classics from opprobrium by arguing that "Satan is not a classical hero but a classical villain who...would have no place in the Greek or Roman epics" (18). In light of the poet's revolutionary "argument / Not less but more Heroic" (9.13-14), it would seem better, however, to construe Milton's adaptation of Homer and Virgil with Davis P. Harding, who in *The Club of Hercules* (1962) shows how Milton used the work of his predecessors as did Virgil, to illuminate a new heroism by contrast with--and therefore rejection of--an older heroic ideal. This in turn suggests that

the classical hero is not simply parodied in Satan; rather he is a 'mixed' being whose heroism is purified or refined by the homeopathic effect Satan has on all he touches.

Purification of the infected and infection of the pure are, of course, two aspects of the same process. Thus, when the 'corrupt' myths of the fallen world are applied to the unfallen one we should suspect something more complex than the critics usually find. In "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology in *Paradise Lost*" (1970), for example, Jonathan H. Collett argues that the myths are "cleansed" by being applied to Paradise, and, in particular, that the comparison of Eve to Delia helps constitute her "most innocent moment" (94). By ignoring the corruption inherent in those myths, he is quite unprepared to cope with the shadow Satan casts over the unfallen, as in the allusion to Circe, which he finds "a seemingly gratuitous association" instead of a most significant clue to what is happening both to Eve and to Satan.³²

At the opposite pole, A. Bartlett Giamatti, in *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (1966), argues that the sinful error of the fallen gardens is in the unfallen one a "latent" or "unawakened evil....something potentially wrong which is directly linked to what is actively evil" (305), and others repeat this accusation about Eve, that as Schulz says, "latent in her twofold mental inferiority [are] the velleities toward sin which, long before the fact, make her fall credible" (18). This is a very subtle problem that can provoke a perverse determinism (many verge on it)³³ and thus turn the poem into a "fatalistic tragedy," as Burden remarks (139). Milton goes out of his way both to make Eve's innocence clear up to the moment when she chooses to

fall and to show her succumbing to a temptation that resonates across her innermost human nature as we perceive it. I will argue this problem at length in Chapter 7.

Since I make a considerable use of Ovid, I must mention here one of the few published studies of which I am aware that even begins to show the importance of Ovid for *Paradise Lost*, Louis L. Martz's *Poet of Exile* (1980).³⁴ Martz shows how Ovidian allusions undermine the "old heroic mode" (219) that begins Milton's portrait of Satan, and how others "in the pastoral scenes of *Paradise Lost* combine to warn of the imminence of change in Paradise." They warn because, as Martz sees clearly, "in Ovid, these peaceful scenes are deceptive haunts of violence" permeated with "a sense of underlying, uncontrollable danger arising from the passionate energies that dominate the earth" (229). The Ovidian garden is a bated trap (remember Actaeon) and so perfect for a Paradise into which the "Meer Serpent" (9.413) has insinuated himself.

II. Biblical Criticism

I have only a few brief remarks to make on this field of scholarship, which began with the formation of the canon and has attracted many of the best minds of our culture since. As an excuse for venturing so far outside the limits my training have defined, I can offer only an irresistible fascination with the source of our imaginative universe and the acute need to compensate for the poverty of the biblical critics' thesaurus in the particular kind of wealth I have sought. Had the work of the first four chapters already been done by hands more competent than mine, I would gladly have accepted it, and would now

be both a younger and a poorer man. For various reasons, I do not undertake to survey and evaluate biblical criticism: the knowledge of it required for this study is too eclectic, the field itself too vast, and the number of works relevant to my method very small--though I have plundered many learned articles and books on biblical subjects, as the bibliography will show.

I mentioned before that the critical movement begun by Wellhausen lost its momentum and capacity for genuine discoveries some time ago, and that already in the 1950's Eric Voegelin summarized the growing discontent and pointed both to its methodological flaws and to new directions. Since then it has become common for scholars to insist with Voegelin (134ff), and against the disintegrating tendencies of source criticism, that the Bible must be read as a unity, and that this unity is clearly legible in the text. This is an attitude Milton would have approved in such modern exegetes as Brevard S. Childs and Gerhard von Rad, who has declared that, "we should turn once again to exegesis of the texts in their present form."³⁵

Such a trend definitely encourages literary critical work, but it is not enough. Studies in biblical narrative such as Robert Alter's *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981) or Peter D. Miscall's *The Workings of Old Testament Narrative* (1983) show that unless guided by an adequate theory a scrupulous attention to the words alone can be misleading.

Source criticism has taught us well that the Bible was put together from fragmentary and often contradictory sources, so that it is bad scholarship not to take account of 'spurious' or peripheral text in some reliable way. Of

course one can never be sure that what is spurious in one reading will not prove vital in another or in a subsequent one, but it seems always necessary to distinguish between the textual evidence supporting a pattern or formal meaning and the remainder, the part that does not fit. An adequate theory should not be defeated by the remainder nor be haunted by the Freudian spectre of revealing omissions.³⁶

Alter's practice of biblical interpretation tends toward over-determined readings because he does not recognize a textual periphery in any consistent way. He borrows the term "type-scene" from Homeric criticism to account for significant repetition in the narrative, but he unfortunately avoids the far older and more appropriate theory, typology. Typological exegesis accounts for both the central pattern and the verbal periphery, and the tentative distinction between them, by introducing the vertical or archetypal dimension into the interpretative process. What has perhaps kept Alter and others away from this venerable theory are the Christian polemics so long attached to it, but anyone familiar with scholarship in this subject will know that the polemics can be discarded, and that far from being an exclusively New Testament device falsely imposed on the Hebrew Scriptures, typology is securely based on the internal structure of the Hebrew Bible and so reveals that structure to anyone who cares to look. This, however, is a subject for the next chapter, where I will identify the relevant work on typology.

In addition to the assumption of unity, with consequent attention to the words of the text, and a theory allowing for the emergence of archetypal patterns, the specifically literary qualities of the Bible require sustained attention. This is a subject about which few have written.

Christine Downing, for example, in "How Can We Hope and Not Dream? Exodus as Metaphor: A Study of the Biblical Imagination" (1968), argues forcefully that the Bible needs to be read as a verbal structure of metaphors, and she suggests very briefly how the Exodus motif illustrates such a reading. Her aim, however, is theology informed by literary criticism, in contrast to my own, which is approximately the reverse. G. B. Caird's *The Language and Imagery of the Bible* (1980), is generally concerned with elementary problems of language that arise when reading the Scriptures. His book is usefully preparatory and corrective, but he only verges on criticism itself, as when he speaks very briefly and cogently on "the metaphorical use of Exodus language" (156).

The central work on the Bible for students of literary criticism is Northrop Frye's *The Great Code: The Bible and Literature* (1982). Although this book came out after I had completed my chapters on the Bible, my involvement as a seminar leader in the course from which the core of the book originated has meant that my best efforts at independence have inevitably been compromised. The book is not often quoted in what follows and specific debts to the man are not acknowledged because the indebtedness is both universal and disinterested.

With that my introductory labours are at an end: "non hoc ista sibi tempus spectacula poscit" (Aen 6.37).

Notes to the Introduction

¹ Cf. *Anatomy of Criticism*, 99-105. Since Jung it has become difficult to use the word 'archetype' in a literary critical argument without evoking a dense cloud of irrelevant concerns, but I know of no adequate substitute.

² See, for example, the article and the unpublished chapter included by Hugh MacCallum, Woodhouse's editor, as Chapters 7 and 8 in *The Heavenly Muse* (1972), 176-291.

³ See Bush, "Virgil and Milton" (1952), 180; Blessington (1979), 66ff.; the general remarks on the stories of Aeneas and the Adam of Genesis, in Kermode (1967), 5-6; and Di Cesare's study of the subtleties of the relationship (1969).

⁴ For the journey motif in general, see Egloff (1972). For patterns of ascent and descent, see Allen, "Milton and the Descent to Light" (1961), 13-22; Cope (1962), 72-148; Sims, *The Bible in Milton's Epics* (1962), 72-4; MacCaffrey (1967), 56-66; and Greene (1963), 387-95. Greene connects what he happily calls Milton's "vertical imagery" with that of light and dark. For the circular journey the most comprehensive treatment for *Paradise Lost* is perhaps in Ferry (1963), 150-66; see also Martz (1980), 83-4; Zwicky, "Kairos in *Paradise Regained*" (1964), 274-5, and Gossman (1971), 328-9. Shawcross, "Paradise Lost and the Theme of Exodus" (1970), correctly contrasts the circular pattern implicit in the myths drawn from nature with the linear structure of the Exodus, with consequences I argue below. For the circle as an image of perfection, see Nicolson (1960), 47-57, and Poulet (1966).

⁵ I discuss the macranthropos metaphor in Chapter 5, note 60.

⁶ "Innocence and Experience" (1967), 96ff; she indicates the theme of embryonic life as common in mythic accounts of paradise but notes how life in Milton's Paradise differs.

⁷ Nicolson, 2-3, 11-46, 132-50; Lieb, "Milton and the Organicist Polemic" (1972), *passim*. Nicolson's study makes clear that what I call the macranthropos metaphor is part of the pervasive tendency of seeing correspondences between observer and observed (thus man as a little world inverts the world as a big man), for which see Foucault, 17-45. Lieb, who discusses the *corpus mysticum* as a type of "organicism," applies his findings to Milton's polemics.

⁸ In addition to "Milton and the Organicist Polemic," see *The Dialectics of Creation* (1970), Prolegomena and Chapter 3; and "Further Thoughts on Satan's Journey Through Chaos" (1978). The imagery he discusses is certainly there, but he tends to stretch his evidence and force certain apparently personal preoccupations onto the poem.

⁹ See *Mythical Thought*, 13-21 and *passim*; and MacCaffrey's quotation of this work (39).

¹⁰ Some examples at random are Koehler (1969); Lieb, *The Dialectics of Creation* (1970), 98ff.; and Shawcross, "Paradise Lost and the Theme of Exodus" (1970), 22-3. See Adams' criticism of such usage in Chapter 2 ("The Devil and Dr. Jung") of *Ikon* (1965), where the simple-minded and the intelligent critics are unfortunately lumped together; and Ruthven, *Myth* (1976), 72-83, who is likewise indiscriminately hostile.

¹¹ The phrase and its interpretation are Sir Walter Raleigh's, quoted and discussed by MacCaffrey, 12ff.

¹² See Chapters 1 ("Sacred Philology") and 2 ("Hermeneutics"), 1-40. As his

title betrays, Conklin's main concern is with doctrine and therefore with Milton's theological treatise, "the actual formulation of Milton's own theological beliefs" (87).

¹³ The study of Milton's theology and of its relation to *Paradise Lost* has been completely ignored in this work. For my purposes, which are literary-critical, the Bible is distinct from Christian theology, by which I mean a certain traditional form of discourse. My distinction, then, is one of decorum. Milton's well-known resistance to metaphor in *his theological treatise* and the obvious absence of that resistance in the poetry illustrates my point.

¹⁴ See the works cited in the bibliography. In *The Intellectual Development of John Milton* (1956-1961), see 1:264-92 (Chapter 16); 2:89-114 (Chapter 5); 2:289-99 (Chapter 14).

¹⁵ See also the works cited by Rajan (1947), 10; and the more recent review in Cohen, *The Throne and the Chariot*, 1-10. I discuss the studies of individual books of the Bible and their traditions below.

¹⁶ Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic* (1966), discusses Job in relation to the genre of *Paradise Regained* and to biblical epic theory in the Renaissance. For the studies of Genesis and Revelation, see below.

¹⁷ Following on his statement that, "Above everything else Genesis meant to the intelligensia of the Renaissance the commentaries on Genesis" (6), Williams notes that, "With characteristic good sense, Milton left no record of his indebtedness [to the commentaries] within *Paradise Lost* itself" (34).

¹⁸ This school of criticism is best known for its division of the narrative into separate authorial strands (usually called J, E, P, and D) and has succeeded in reducing the text to an increasingly complicated network of sources combined in an equally complicated series of redactions. Whatever its merits, it seems to have discovered what it was capable of discovering many years ago and to have been largely rejected in favour of approaches that begin with the assumed unity of the text. See the penetrating analysis in Voegelin (149-62) and the brief discussion of biblical criticism below.

¹⁹ On the Book of Revelation and *Paradise Lost*, see also Revard (1980), Chapter 4.

²⁰ Kerrigan refers to the most notable article on this subject, Cirillo (1962), along with several others (229, n. 14). See also Zwicky, "Milton's Use of Time" (1959), and her "Kairos in *Paradise Regained*" (1964).

²¹ See also Ryken (1970), which has nothing to do with the biblical source of such vision. On the prophetic mode, see in addition Hardison (1969).

²² See, for example, Winston's commentary on Wisdom (1979), and the classic though by no means satisfying study by Boman (1960).

²³ The acknowledged source for his insights into biblical structure is Downing, whose article (1968) deserves attention from scholars of both Milton and the Bible. I discuss it below.

²⁴ Compare the sense of allusion and context in Elliott's fine but all-too-brief study (1974).

²⁵ See Preus (1969), 196-9, for the history of this phenomenon in Luther's thought; and note Roston (1968), 69-78, where he shows what he calls "postfiguration" to have come about in the development of mystery cycles and scriptural plays into the Renaissance. Zwicker, in *Dryden's Political Poetry* (1972), discusses correlative typology in political writings. MacCaffrey summarizes this historical phenomenon neatly (130).

²⁶ Daniélou, in "The Conception of History in the Christian Tradition" (1950), 174, summarizes Origen's argument that "the period of the church is found to be in a relation to the second Parousia analogous to the period of

the Law in relation to the first Parousia" and points out more generally that "expectation dominates the Christian attitude"; see also Markus (1957), 450. Furthermore, the coming of Christ fits the biblical pattern of the promised vision (such as Moses' Pisgah-sight), which vanishes to leave the people of God back in a wilderness of trial and error.

²⁷ See also Tillyard, *Studies in Milton* (1951), 53-7; Tyson (1969); and especially Rollin (1973), 3-18.

²⁸ Arguments for Satan's degeneration can also be found in Broadbent, *Some Graver Subject* (1960), 76-80; Greene (1963), 390; Harding, *Club of Hercules* (1962), 41-2, 47; Revard (1980), 54-8, 62-6; Rollin (1973), 11; Steadman, *Milton's Epic Characters* (1959), 196-200, 312-13; Stein, "Satan's Metamorphoses" (1969), 112-13.

²⁹ MacCaffrey (1967), for example, has emphasized that not only is Hell a concentrated vision of fallen earth and the devils' pastimes quite familiarly human, but that "Satan's pilgrimage through the dark toward Paradise re-traces the necessity that life imposes on us all" (191; 181-3). Cf. Koehler, 100; Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 143.

³⁰ Curry (1950) and Robins (1961), both concentrate on geographical directions and the like; Durr (1955) and Koehler (1969), attempt the mythical form but do not succeed, as MacCaffrey does; and Lieb, in *Dialectics of Creation* (1970) and "Further Thoughts on Satan's Journey Through Chaos" (1978), fastens on to the sexual and generative metaphors and the imagery of intestinal decomposition but has no larger framework within which to understand them. Finally, one might note Nicolson (1960), in which the cosmic voyage is discussed as a theme in the age of terrestrial discovery.

³¹ See Collett's review of the criticism in "Myth and Mythography" (1979), where he surveys the work from Addison through MacCaffrey; his article, "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology" (1970); and Long (1967). Sims, in "Milton, Literature as a Bible, and the Bible as Literature" (1979), provides the most comprehensive view of the relationship between secular literature and the Scriptures. One exception to the general rule is Paskus (1973), where a supposed conflict between the two is construed as the expression of a "personalized" theology.

³² Stanford points out that Circe "is no Gothic witch-hag scrabbling among cats and bats in a murky hut, but a luminous daemonic creature combining two equally dangerous but quite dissimilar personalities. As the sister of Aietes she turns men into swine; as a daughter of the Sun she delights them with every sensuous joy" (46). This is, I argue in Chapter 7, essentially the Eve that Satan sees during the seduction, the one to whom Satan, "more duteous at her call, / Than at Circean call the Herd disguis'd" (9.521-2), is thus metaphorically subjected. For the Renaissance Circe, see Hughes, "Spenser's Acrasia" (1963); Brodwin, "Milton and the Renaissance Circe" (1974); cf. Diane McColley, "Shapes of Things Divine" (1978), 51-3.

³³ In addition to those quoted, see Harding, *Club of Hercules* (1962), 69, 72, and *passim*; Lawry (1968), 244-8; Demetrakopoulos (1975).

³⁴ See also Jackson (1975), in which the author studies sequences of tales in Ovid in relation to the structure of *Paradise Lost*.

³⁵ *Genesis* (42); see also Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (1979), where his argument for the assumption of unity is worked out in great detail.

³⁶ See, for example, Shoshana Felman's remark:

The question of a reading's "truth" must be at least complicated and re-thought through another question, which Freud, indeed, has raised, and taught

us to articulate: what does such "truth" (or any "truth") leave out? What is it *made to miss*? What does it have as its function to overlook? What, precisely, is its residue, the *remainder* it does not account for? (117).

Chapter 1: Exodus as Paradigm

Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine,
And the configurations of their glory!
Seeing not onely how each verse doth shine,
But all the constellations of the storie.
This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie:
Then as dispersed herbs do watch a potion,
These three make up some Christians destinie:
Such are thy secrets, which my life makes good,
And comments on thee: for in ev'ry thing
Thy words do finde me out, & parallels bring,
And in another make me understood.
Starres are poore books, & oftentimes do misse:
This book of starres lights to eternall blisse.

George Herbert, "The H. Scriptures II"

According to the old story, a group of blind men once gathered around an elephant to determine what sort of a creature it was; each man felt a different part and declared the beast to be the kind of thing his part resembled: one a snake, one a tree, and so forth. The obvious humour of the story depends on an audience with sight and previous knowledge of elephants, but perhaps the plight of the blind men is like the typically ridiculous situation in one of those deceptive Sufi tales, whose real point is deeply ironic. Perhaps we are those blind men, for whom the knowable is inevitably determined by expectations. If one accepts that reading, one's first inclination may well be to forswear the company of 'blind' men and to condemn

all such expectations as restrictive and prejudicial, as expectations often are. In that case, however, one would turn from one kind of blindness to a worse, presuming that the mind can be free from prior notions and can apprehend what is *actually there*. Such a mind is inherently self-contradictory: denying prior assumptions it depends on the prior assumption of what Blake in "Of the Gates" called the "Cloven Fiction" (770), the fiction that cleaves the perceiver from the perceived and makes it into an *object*, rather than a door, of perception.

The Bible begins with quite a different metaphor of how things come to be and to be known: in the beginning God creates the world from chaos by imposing form on the formless, by dividing and separating what had been 'unkindly' mixed until the resulting world answers "his great Idea" (PL 7.557). The initial creation of light (long before the creation of a light-source) is perhaps a metaphor of the birth of consciousness; in any case the creation of man in the image of God implies that we are to understand human perception as an analogy of God's creative power, as some kind of making. If so then the act of critical understanding must begin with an interpretative model or generate one in interaction with the thing to be understood. In general the following chapter will be concerned with how the Bible can be approached in terms of such a model, how in fact it demands to be read in that way.

I.

In his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas S. Kuhn has argued that like one of our blind men, scientists in a given discipline necessarily approach the unknown with a highly specialized set of expectations

that he calls a 'paradigm.' Kuhn shows how in the practice of normal science these paradigms play a central role in shaping what is known and in defining the directions and objects of research, and how by limiting the range of questions and imposing degrees of relevance on the results they make true scientific research possible. The paradigm is then a kind of hypothetical construct that by introducing a consistent distinction between relevant and irrelevant facts allows more or less random fact-gathering to become focused research. The ultimate object of such research is, according to Kuhn, articulation of the paradigm, which provides the structure of what theoretically should exist and thus directs the researcher to find what does exist and enables him to perceive it. Unlike the Platonic idea, however, the paradigm in Kuhn's sense makes no absolute claim to the truth; it is a hypothetical model ultimately to be judged by its theoretical and practical consequences.

The relationship between scientific paradigm and natural evidence is far more complex than I have suggested, but I think the analogy from the history of science serves a useful purpose even in such a brief summary. My concern is primarily with the Bible as a paradigm of a different though analogous kind to that used in the sciences: a model of an imaginative rather than a physical reality, one that shapes our understanding of *Paradise Lost*, for example, no less thoroughly than the scientific paradigm seems to determine and direct the work of its own discipline. The analogy with the sciences helps us to see that a paradigm is not necessarily a solipsistic fantasy, spun out of a critic's spidery imagination, but can be a powerful and creative research tool. In any case, it would seem that paradigms, like assumptions, are unavoidable, and one

had better have a good one, consciously held, than a shadowy thing whose secret guidance is a kind of tyranny.

Up to now Milton criticism has operated without benefit of a consciously articulated biblical paradigm. As I indicated earlier, the growing interest in structural issues and in mythological and typological models has prepared us for a sustained examination of the role of the Bible in *Paradise Lost*, but so far the attempts at such an examination have largely avoided the central question--the structure of the Bible itself--or have proposed or assumed radically inadequate solutions. In the following discussion I will look briefly at a common though often hidden paradigm, the Bible as catalogue or anthology,¹ and then derive from certain aspects of traditional typology the theoretical basis for a more adequate model that will take the next three chapters to articulate. As I have just indicated, I will be using the word 'paradigm' in two different though related senses: a structure or model to which the Bible is thought to conform, that is, a way of thinking about the Bible; and the Bible itself, viewed according to such a structure, as itself an exemplary pattern, a way of thinking. This second sense (which diverges from what Kuhn appears to mean by 'paradigm') refers to what Frye has called the "mythological universe" within which Western literature "operated down to the eighteenth century and is to a large extent still operating" (*The Great Code*, xi). The present work takes up these two senses of 'paradigm' in its two major sections: in the first I begin with a structure according to which I then show the Bible conformable, and in the second read *Paradise Lost* from within the biblical paradigm.

For reasons that will become clear later on, the Bible may seem to support the assumption (developed, we saw, by the Wellhausen school) that it is a collection or anthology of more or less separable stories, themes, and passages. A literary critic may be led to such an assumption by another, according to which the process of reference that begins with an allusion in a literary text stops with the words or immediate context of the text referred to.² The more obvious or secure the allusion, the more such a critic will tend to find its purpose fulfilled in the solidity of the connection. Thus, when in Book 1 Milton invokes his muse,

...that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed... (1.6-8)

the critic may be so struck by the obviousness of Milton's allusion to the two principal revelations to Moses (Ex 3; 19ff) that he does not think to inquire much further; and when, somewhat less obviously, the poet has God decree the generation "out of one man a Race / Of men innumerable" (7.155-6), he may be similarly turned aside by the directness of the allusion to Abraham, from whom sprang "so many as the stars of the sky in multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea shore innumerable" (Heb 11:12). Failing to inquire into the biblical contexts of such allusions, and from there into the relationship those contexts have with the biblical story as a whole, this hypothetical critic will tend to assume, whether consciously or otherwise, certain things about the allusions themselves, about the Bible, and therefore about *Paradise Lost*.

The tendencies of our critic are as follows. About biblical allusions generally, he is likely to regard as more important those that are obviously and directly linked to particular biblical passages, and as less important those that ambiguously refer to several, or those whose reference is not otherwise made specific by the immediate poetic context. To put it simply, he will tend to catalogue and therefore to notice allusions that lend themselves to that kind of classification, and to suppress or just not see those that do not. He will tend to look at the Bible as a collection of such 'important' passages, that is, as an anthology of fragments. As a consequence, all he will be able to bring to *Paradise Lost* from the Bible so perceived are the words of the passage to which allusion is made and whatever associations they may 'freely' evoke. Under these conditions the Bible cannot possibly supply a governing principle or structure for Milton's poem, only more local colour or "atmosphere."³

Yet as a heuristic principle his implicit notion has some use, for if one explicitly adopts the anthology as a paradigm of the Bible, one runs into some interesting problems with *Paradise Lost*, and these problems in turn furnish a clue to the kind of structural model the poem actually requires. Let us take, for example, a short passage from Book 7 of *Paradise Lost* and see how a couple of simple allusions cause difficulties with the assumed model.

Just prior to his creation of the cosmos, the Son gathers around his chariot the angelic powers:

...winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
From the Armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads between two brazen Mountains lodg'd
Against a solemn day....(7:199-202)

There are two well-known allusions here, the first to the Lord's armoury, the impending "weapons of his indignation" threatening the annihilation of Babylon (Jer 50:25), the second to the "mountains of brass" from between which issue the four chariots of Zechariah's messianic apocalypse (6:1). The immediate problem -- for which the biblical anthology provides no solution whatever -- is what these specific passages have to do with the scene envisioned by Milton, which takes place *after* Satan's defeat and *before* the creation of the unfallen world, hence long before anything remotely like the demonic kingdom of Babylon comes into being.

Leaving that question aside for the moment, one must also account for the place of these two troublesome allusions within the larger context of biblical references in this part of the poem (7.197-215). As examples of these others let us consider the allusions here to biblical passages concerned with the primeval waters on which the world was founded (cf. Ps 24:1-2), and to which chaos is often compared in *Paradise Lost*. Studies of the biblical metaphor of these "many waters"⁴ show that it is applied not merely to the aboriginal chaos but also to the waters of the Deluge that overwhelmed the world and those that figure the primeval enemy of creation, who is national and military (Jer 47:2), personal and spiritual (Ps 69:2,15), and sometimes both (Ps 124:4-5). I wish to argue that the poet's description of the abyss into which the creator descends is skillfully unspecific: it refers not to any one passage in the Bible nor to a clearly limited number of such passages but to a recurrent biblical metaphor whose total context extends across the Bible and whose meaning is therefore informed by a multiplicity of individual passages. (This

is but one aspect of a more complex point about biblical allusions that applies to the specific kind as well; I will return to it at the end of this chapter.) Here is part of the poetic passage in question, an extended reference to the primeval waters:

...the vast immeasurable Abyss
Outrageous as a Sea, dark, wasteful, wilde,
Up from the bottom turn'd by furious windes
And surging waves, as Mountains to assault
Heav'ns highth, and with the Center mix the Pole (7:211-15).

Once one allows the "surging waves" as an unspecific allusion in the sense just defined--something like a point of contact between the poem and the complex metaphorical domain of the Bible--then the reader has before him many potential allusions, some of which are to creation's enemy, who is sometimes a cosmic water-monster (e.g., Jer 51:55; Ezek 26:3; etc.), and who is figured in the near-personification of the "outrageous" sea,⁵ and analogously in the classical reference to the Giants' assault on Heaven (cf. Met 1.151-62), and in the obvious biblical allusion to the builders of the Tower of Babel. Here, at least, is an answering opponent to the Lord's armed forces of the previous passage; but having intensified the question of relevance abandoned earlier, I seem no closer to answering it.

The sea itself provides the clue: it is "wasteful, wilde," echoing 'waste' and 'wilderness,' two words for the original desert which together with the original waters gives expression to the chaos out of which the world of living things arose in the beginning (Gen 1:2; 2:5), to which in its wickedness God returns it (Gen 6-7; Neh 2:17), and from which he redeems it (Ex 15; Isa 51:3; cf. Ps 68:22). The cycle of creation, destruction, and recreation opens up the

possibility of a dialectic between the Lord's wrath and his love, and thus suggests a possible reason for the weapons in the hand of the creator, so to speak, in *Paradise Lost*.

The reader has probably noticed that in attempting to clarify the problems brought about by my assumption of the anthology or catalogue as a biblical paradigm I have already violated that assumption and silently taken on another. I have begun to speak in terms of metaphorical identities or, more broadly, of recurrent patterns of imagery within the Bible that can on some level be taken as variations of the same pattern. I have made the shift because the former assumption is simply fruitless; its difficulties in the face of Milton's poetic usage force us to look back into the Bible for appropriate enlightenment. There we find, for example, creation and destruction, or better, recreation and purgation, as the two aspects of a dialectical process, moving through history, by which the world itself is finally made one with Heaven. That process is the subject of this chapter.

The cosmic creation in *Paradise Lost* is in one sense a poetic elaboration of the Genesis account, but we need go no further than the Bible itself to discover the source of the poet's authority. In the poem the Father declares and the angels celebrate the imminent creation of the world, using the figure not of creation *ex nihilo* but of the restoration of a heavenly temple.⁶ Both thus refer to a common motif in the Psalms and Prophets, where the redemption of man is figured as a restoration of the Temple, or man's place in the Temple, following the defeat of an archetypal enemy. In Genesis the waters of chaos retain only the slightest traces of the primeval monster found in

parallel Near Eastern myths, but the identity of this monster with the waters becomes clear through metaphor as the Bible progresses,⁷ so that, as in the poem, creation and recreation can become different aspects of the same event. In Genesis the two creation accounts turn on the complementary themes of control of the waters (of death) and release of the waters (of life), for defeat or binding of the primeval enemy means also the liberation of what has been kept in thralldom, the release of imprisoned or potential life-energy, as in Isaiah's vision of the desert rejoicing and blossoming "as the rose" (35:1). In *Paradise Lost* the cosmic creation, whose purpose and end is the restoration of Heaven, is similarly preceded by the apocalyptic war against the archetypal enemy and suggests an extension of God's goodness into chaos, a kind of liberation in the metaphorical sense of what has been until then trapped in *potentia*, as illustrated by the poet's "Tawny Lion, pawing to get free / His hinder parts" (7.464-5) as he emerges, newly created, from the ground. To show the metaphorical identity of the two halves of creation the poet makes the purgative battle allude to the creative act (cf. 6.703ff) and the creative act allude to the battle. Thus the Lord's armoury and the "mountains of brass" occur as prelude to the Creation in the passage quoted above, and thus also the Creator appears girt as both bridegroom and warrior, and above all, speaks his creative word as controller of the waters.

II.

From the foregoing example it should be possible to get an idea of how the coherence or structure of Milton's allusions depends on a corresponding structure in the Bible, of which we have just glimpsed a small but

representative piece. Nevertheless, the arguments against a study of an internal biblical structure may appear nearly as formidable as the primeval waters of which I just spoke. So many are the patterns one can find in a work so diverse, loosely organized, and in places textually corrupt that despair at finding a genuine one, even denial of any pattern at all, may seem the only possible responses. Fortunately for us, however, this thoroughly comprehensible attitude is not the traditional one Milton shared and therefore need not detain us further (cf. Rev 22:18-19). Traditionally the Bible was regarded as a unity, and it has been thought if not merely assumed to derive that unity from its divine source, so that what links its diverse and often contradictory elements together is regarded to be their common relation to the divine Word they all somehow manifest.

Yet this metaphorically 'vertical' relation between each element and the divine Word cannot be divorced from the metaphorically 'horizontal' relation events have with each other, even if the nature of the relationship is difficult or impossible to determine. For one thing, the Bible tells a story that subsumes these events in a temporal progression from the beginning of time itself to its ending and consummation. Unlike the myths Mircea Eliade has characterized as forms of an "eternal return" to an extra-temporal moment *in illo tempore*,⁸ the biblical narrative is historical; its beginning and ending are the limits of a unique and irreversible process that returns on itself (if at all) only once, and then in a very special sense. On closer inspection, however, this 'historical' narrative yields many curious features utterly at variance with 'history' as we usually understand it. In particular, it is highly repetitive, more like a three-dimensional spiral (as Edmond Jacob

remarked) than a straight line (191, n. 2), since the same kind of thing keeps happening, more often and more deliberately than the proverb about history repeating itself would seem to allow. To extend Jacob's metaphor, the circle 'within' the spiral suggests the vertical element, the unchanging providential design manifested in and through the continually changing things of history; and like that providential design in history, the circle can be said to be 'in' the spiral only by an act of the imagination. Thus, instead of coming full circle back to his unchanged beginning *in illo tempore*, biblical man arrives at a place both like and unlike that from which he began: in Milton, for example, he regains his lost paradise in "A paradise within thee, happier farr" (PL 12.587), which is to say that like Israel he gets what he wants, only in a form he does not expect.

Jean Daniélou identifies the perfect fusion of vertical and horizontal elements as the central paradox of biblical history: the continual human progress towards fulfillment in the *eschaton* in inseparable counterpoint to the essentially spontaneous and discontinuous nature of the *eschaton*, which is totally unconditioned (*The Lord of History*, 196-202). For purposes of argument I must consider these elements separately, but their fusion and hence the paradox remain among the most characteristic features of the biblical vision, hence of literature written in its light.

From the beginning biblical exegetes have recognized this paradoxical conception of history under the interpretative principle of typology, to which some of the remaining discussion in this chapter will be devoted.⁹ I will be interested not so much in typology itself as in what it reveals about biblical

narrative structure, especially in the Old Testament. Nevertheless, anyone who uses that essential term, about which there is so little agreement,¹⁰ is obliged to say what he means by it.

As it is usually understood, typology asserts that certain historical figures and events in the Old Testament, known as 'types,' foreshadow other equally historical figures and events in the New, known as 'antitypes.' St. Augustine's concise definition states this principle with admirable simplicity: "in the Old Testament the New is concealed, and in the New the Old is revealed."¹¹ Even restricted in that way to a theory of correspondence between certain temporal events under the two dispensations, typology implies the conception of history we have just examined, and thus Eric Auerbach can refer to "the figural structure of universal history" (*Mimesis*, 158). Temporal events can only correlate as the theory specifies by sharing a common relation to something that does not change, an eternal 'archetype';¹² but since the antitype is not a simple repetition of the type, rather a clearer, less shadowy revelation, neither can they correlate without the horizontal element of change that produces their differences.

The numerous patristic applications of Christian typology, its acceptance throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and Milton's obvious assumption--indeed assertion--of it are subjects peripheral to my argument and well enough known not to require further comment from me.¹³ The first thing of interest here is the fact that typology was apparently the working principle by which the New Testament authors themselves read the Hebrew Scriptures.¹⁴ Nor was it their invention. R. P. C. Hanson has shown that "behind much early

Christian writing, and certainly behind the text of the New Testament, there lies a corpus of traditional typology, originally inherited from or ~~stated~~^{imitated} from Jewish liturgical expressions" (*Allegory and Event*, 72). In addition, various other studies have shown that typology--or, more accurately, the habit of mind it requires--can be found in the Old Testament.¹⁵ (Considering the evidence I will examine, it is certainly not difficult to conclude that this habit of mind must have been at work in the writing and editing from a very early stage, though such historical considerations are not part of my argument.)

Daniélou's investigation into the origins of patristic typology, *From Shadows to Reality*, has shown perhaps most clearly that its principles are found already among the Hebrew prophets,¹⁶ and that the New Testament only takes up and continues the typology they outlined (156-7). According to Daniélou, the one significant difference in New Testament application lies in the fact that the crucial antitypes remain for the Hebrew prophets in the future, whereas for the New Testament writers they have been fulfilled already in Jesus Christ (157). Nevertheless, for reasons that will become clear in a moment, early Christians could not rest in this present fulfillment but found it necessary to preserve the fundamental relation of their beliefs to the future in the vision of a 'second coming' when ordinary experience and its world would come to an end (Frye, *The Great Code*, 83). Perhaps, then, the Old and the New typologies are not so different after all.

The simultaneous belief in a present and a future fulfillment suggests that for typology both 'present' and 'future' require a much closer examination. What I have said so far about the vertical component of biblical history suggests that both are aspects of what I will call an 'eternal present,' that is, the temporal form of the eternal presence of God. Before we can see how this is so, however, we must dwell further on the complementary horizontal component, the axis of events in time.

III.

Common to much of the writing about typology and biblical narrative is a concern, sometimes verging on an anxiety, about the historical status of the events in question. Unfortunately, the meaning of 'historical,' that is, of what we mean by 'history' in the context of the Bible, is seldom made very clear. The problem can be illustrated by the 'historical' event of Israel's victory over Egypt at the Red Sea, which in spite of its being in von Rad's words "the basic thing that happened" (*Old Testament Theology*, 1:176), was, Eric Voegelin remarks, "too unimportant to be registered in the Egyptian records" (112). The most obvious point to be made from such a discrepancy is that the biblical authors were apparently not interested in providing what Voegelin calls "pragmatic history," but neither were they willing to abandon the pragmatic kernel for a purely mythological account. Whatever biblical history is, it is thus not illuminated by the opposition of fact to fiction commonly supposed for modern historiography.

The special nature of biblical history has long been noted. In *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, for example, Childs conventionally contrasts the biblical "history of redemption" (*Heilsgeschichte*) with history based on verifiable, i.e., external, facts and with history transcended in abstraction, such as one observes in allegory (100-6). He points out that this 'sacred history' consists of both legendary and factual elements, between which the biblical authors make no essential distinction, no "false antithesis" (103). This is a useful point for the literary critic because it illustrates the biblical faith in a reality defined by the text itself rather than by an external standard. As Auerbach points out, typology has just this character-- "indeed it is by nature a textual interpretation" ("Figura'," 57). What he means can be illustrated by contrasting it briefly with allegory, an equally important principle of biblical interpretation with an equally vast literature.¹⁷

Hanson points out that allegory and typology cannot always be distinguished, especially in the early years of the Church. Nevertheless, the two terms can and have been used to represent two quite distinct responses to the problems of textual interpretation, as the literature on typology frequently insists. Both begin with the text and both seek to explain it, but they differ profoundly in the direction or goal of their interpretative methods. Paradoxically, though allegory (as in Philo) is commonly based on the presumption "that there is nothing superfluous or accidental in the Scriptures" (Hanson, 46) and consequently not only provokes a minute examination of all the details but also seeks to explain them, its essential movement is away from the text to some conceptual framework of which the text

is a subservient illustration. Thus in Frye's terms the allegorizing of a literary text is a kind of translation from one linguistic mode to another, "a technique of paralleling metaphorical with conceptual language in which the latter has the primary authority" (*The Great Code*, 10). In contrast, typology presumes the irrelevance of much of the detail: an antitype (such as Christ) can be said to be prefigured in a type (such as Moses) only by ignoring some of the details and by asserting that others are imperfect approximations. Although a typological interpretation may move from a given passage to something not immediately or completely visible in it, the goal remains the passage from which interpretation began, that is, the original passage transformed by a new and more powerful understanding of it. Thus a type is *fulfilled* in its antitype, not superseded or forgotten, as Christ himself was quick to point out (Matt 5:17).

The strict correspondence between an Old Testament type and its New Testament antitype in conventional exegesis shows that typology always remains within the domain of the scriptural text, and when extra-biblical events are considered as types of the biblical revelation, that domain enlarges to include them. Typology, correctly understood, makes no appeal whatever to anything outside or beyond the text; the 'historical' claims of typology, we will see, are claims for the ontological status of the narrative, not for a truth of correspondence with some factual record or abstract schema. Milton provides a good example of this attitude, for although he was well aware of textual corruptions and other difficulties, his final belief, as he declared in *Christian Doctrine* (1.30), is "in the whole scripture because of that Spirit which inwardly persuades every believer." His ultimate appeal of "all

things...to the Spirit and the unwritten word" is not to something apart from the text but to the true text seen through the imperfect details we have been given (590). Neither does he appeal to external facts when he insists that, for example, in contrast to the gardens of classical literature, the garden of Eden was the one true garden (PL 9.439-43): its truth for Milton follows from its presence in the biblical text, the sole authority for its existence, and its incomparably greater status from the incomparably greater authority of the Bible over all other written works. In this case the distinction between what was written and what really happened is false.

Biblical historiography, then, must in some sense be a textual activity in which the writing and editing of the text and the quest for "what actually happened" ("was eigentlich geschehen ist") are identical in a rather special way. G. B. Caird, who quotes Leopold von Ranke's famous phrase (201), points out that all historiography deals with evidence "in a framework of interpretation," and that the biblical narrative presupposes in addition to the horizontal domain of events a vertical axis of divine causation, another kind of interpretation that is "part of the actuality of the event" (202, 210). Caird comes close to what I want to say, but (if I am not just quibbling with words) he is mistaken on a very basic point. He implies the positivistic notion that there are facts essentially independent of the *interpretation* placed on them. What I require is something quite different from the notion of interpretation and far more difficult to articulate. Since in any given instance (as, for example, at the Red Sea) we cannot know what may or may not have happened, and to seek it outside the narrative in which it is reported would clearly violate the intentionality of the account, we must assume that

the facts, insofar as they are facts *in this context*, are the elements of a vision realized at that moment in the biblical story in the words of the text. They are not objective things seen through a subjective interpretation, they are the means of seeing. The Christian typological exegete would say (if he used these terms) that the facts of the Red Sea crossing, the elements of the vision, are more clearly seen in the Synoptic accounts of Christ's baptism, yet they are not therefore separable from either event. Daniélou's comparison of this perfect and paradoxical fusion of temporal and eternal to the hypostatic union of the two natures of the God-Man makes this point very effectively (*The Lord of History*, 201).

To put it simply, I am arguing that the goal of the Israelite historians could not have been pragmatic history, however clear the pragmatic kernel may sometimes be, but another kind altogether, which Voegelin calls "paradigmatic history," the history written--and rewritten--to reveal a divine paradigm behind ordinary events in time. Voegelin argues that

the events are not experienced in a pragmatic context of means and ends, as actions leading to results in the intramundane realm of political power, but as acts of obedience to, or defection from a revealed will of God. They are experienced by souls who struggle for their attunement with transcendent being, who find the meaning of individual and social actions in their transfusion with the plans of God for man. When experienced in this manner, the course of events becomes sacred history, while the single events become paradigms of God's way with man in this world. (121)

Voegelin points out that paradigmatic events have different criteria of truth from that of pragmatic events. An account is deemed more accurate if it gets closer to "*was eigentlich geschehen ist*," which (I have argued) is better

understood as 'was eigentlich geschieht,' 'what is really [and always] happening' in biblical history, or 'was geschehen muss,' 'what must happen.' Sometimes, Voegelin shows, the historians simply reworked the given material to sharpen or clarify the paradigmatic truth; sometimes, as with Deuteronomy and Chronicles, a whole body of the tradition was recast (122-3). Always the evident intention was to clarify the truth simultaneously hidden in and revealed through temporal events.

Typology certainly also attempts to reveal the eternal in the temporal, but it takes a further step by developing a crucial implication in the idea of paradigmatic history. Typology implies that the activity of the paradigmatic historian (perhaps of all historians interested in the 'meaning' of history) is the activity of history itself; that such an historian is a kind of prophet who by proper use of his materials reveals the one paradigm of divine truth clarifying itself in repetition as time moves towards its fullness. Christian typology, strictly understood, specifies two, or perhaps three, elements in this progression: Old Testament types, Christological antitypes, and the *eschaton*, with respect to which all previous events and figures are types.¹⁸ We saw earlier that the Hebrew prophets clearly employ their history typologically, but still the structure envisioned is strictly bipolar: they speak of the contrast between the Exodus of old and the New Exodus of final redemption. My concern is, however, with the nature of biblical narrative in general, and for this I need to turn at last to the vertical axis of biblical history, to the archetype that (in the qualified sense already developed) gets repeated.

IV.

I begin by returning to that central fact about the Hebrew narrative explored at length by the Wellhausen school: its discontinuity. One can assume editorial incompetence to explain away the rough juxtapositions of material from various sources, the multiple reports of what appear to be identical incidents, and so forth, but aside from violating the traditional attitude, for my purposes this is a thoroughly fruitless assumption. One gets a much deeper understanding of the Bible and its influence by taking the textual difficulties to be an indication of another kind of unity and intention. Auerbach, for example, notes the discontinuities of the text but points to the "one concept of universal history and its interpretation" to which all the various components belong. In fact, he points out,

The greater the separateness and horizontal disconnection of the stories and groups of stories in relation to one another...the stronger is their general vertical connection, which holds them all together.... Each of the great figures of the Old Testament, from Adam to the prophets, embodies a moment of this vertical connection (*Mimesis*, 17).

Thus it is through some of its most annoying features that the biblical narrative achieves its characteristic revelatory mode. Through them it represents the intersection of the horizontal axis of human time and space by the vertical axis of divine redemption and revelation (often a violent and always a highly disruptive event), revealing the former to be not a continuum of causally related events but a discontinuous series of epiphanic moments. In Frank Kermode's words, "The divine plot is the pattern of *kairos* in relation

to the End" (47).¹⁹ The spiral of Jacob's metaphor is thus too regular and too easily suggests a cumulative progress of which the Bible, at least on the level of the microstructure, gives dubious evidence at best. Before I can suggest anything better, however, I need to inquire further into the vertical component of the narrative.

In his essential essay on what he calls "figural interpretation," Auerbach shows that the idea of the antitype reveals in the bipolar framework of typology something far more significant than the bipolar correspondence and more relevant to the concerns of narrative structure. Typology ordinarily specifies the fulfillment of the type in the antitype, but he shows that no antitype can be complete until the future has been realized and the promise fulfilled, and that all history is therefore equally typical:

Thus history, with all its concrete force, remains forever a figure, cloaked and needful of interpretation. In this light the history of no epoch ever has the practical self-sufficiency which, from the standpoint both of primitive man and of modern science, resides in the accomplished fact; all history, rather, remains open and questionable, points to something still concealed....in the figural system the interpretation is always sought from above; events are considered not in their unbroken relation to one another, but torn apart, individually, each in relation to something other that is promised and not yet present....the fact is subordinated to an interpretation which is fully secured to begin with: the event is enacted according to an ideal model which is a prototype situated in the future and thus far only promised....It carries us still further. For every future model, though incomplete as history, is already fulfilled in God and has existed from all eternity in His providence. The figures in which He cloaked it, and the incarnation in which He revealed its meaning, are therefore prophecies of something that has always been....Thus the figures are not only tentative; they are also the tentative form of something eternal and timeless; they point not only to the concrete future, but also to something that always has been and always will be; they point to something which is in need of interpretation, which will indeed be fulfilled in the concrete future, but which is at all times present, fulfilled in God's providence, which knows no difference of time.

This eternal thing is already figured in them, and thus they are both tentative fragmentary reality, and veiled eternal reality ("Figura'," 58-60).

From the vertical perspective, then, all typologically significant events are ultimately the same event, all figures the same figure, and therefore all the horizontal realm of history simultaneous in the one archetypal paradigm from which the structure, and therefore the meaning and coherence, of history derive. This paradigm attests to Jacob's "hidden God," "the one who comes at certain moments in time to demonstrate through certain events the totality of his being and of his action" (189).

Nevertheless, as I have pointed out before, the biblical archetype is by its nature knowable only in the narrative it has informed. It cannot be abstracted in the manner of an allegory, and any attempt to do so is a violation of basic principles from the perspective I am developing. If the archetype were separable, the meaning of all types and of history itself would vanish, as is characteristic of 'eternal return' myths and the cosmological order they reflect;²⁰ since it is not, history and its paradigmatic events take on eternal significance, however veiled. Voegelin has said that "history is the Exodus from civilizations" (133), by which he means that history as an intellectual form is created in the liberation of the mind from the cosmological order, in which (to borrow Ecclesiastes' words) "there is no new thing under the sun" (1:9). It is a liberation--from a biblical perspective--in at least two ways: as a release from bondage to the order of nature, and as emergence from that bondage into a daily existence potentially interpenetrated with genuine meaning.

The conception of such history has an important corollary. Because the types and shadows of history have paradigmatic form, because they embody an eternal moment, they can neither be simply forgotten nor superseded. As Auerbach argues, no type is truly fulfilled until the end of time itself. In his discussion of the Exodus, Caird points out that 'typical' events have a way of living on into the present and hence developing. The Passover celebrant, Caird remarks, "repeats the story of Israel's deliverance in the stereotyped cadences of inherited ritual, yet there is a sense in which he understands 'what actually happened' better than any of the companions of Moses" (210-11).. Thus what Voegelin calls "the genesis of history through retrospective interpretation" (128) did not stop with the writing of the Exodus account, nor with its reinterpretation by the Prophets and then by the Gospel writers, but is the way that the biblical narrative itself demands to be read, as a living truth, as *our story*. The paradigmatic form of narrative events guarantees their survival in the totality of the biblical vision, but it also means that any one of them can stand for all the others of its class. Certain events (such as the Exodus) are quite obviously more important than others, but this is merely a matter of degree. What concerns me here is the fact that the archetype is knowable at all and that it can be adequately approached through an individual story within the greater narrative.

Thus, on the level of the macrostructure, the archetype is visible in the shape of the story as a whole, the panorama of sacred history with which, for example, *Paradise Lost* begins:

Of Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat....(PL 1.1-5)

It is also repeated in the narrative microstructure, so that the little episodes reflect the great story, as Adam, Abraham, or biblical man of any age lives an individual life that is simultaneously the history of mankind as a whole. Again, what seems essential in the Bible is that the archetype is always manifested in a story, never in anything like a divine emblem or abstract statement. As is consonant with the nature of a God whose four-letter name is a verb, who lives in fire, and who creates the world by spoken command, biblical truth seems to reside only in the verbal process of storytelling. When, for example, a son asks his father the meaning of the Jewish way of life, the answer God commands him to give is not a philosophical statement or formula but a story, what one could in a very profound sense call 'the same old story,' of redemption from Egyptian imprisonment, wandering through the Wilderness, and arrival in the Promised Land (Deut 6:20-25).²¹

The Exodus

Though, as Voegelin has remarked, the Old Testament contains more than one "motivating center radiating order over the narrative" (162), it is certainly arguable that the exodus is the most powerful of such centres. The Hebrew prophets seem to have considered it so, and Frye, for example, has noted that for the Bible considered as a sequence of structurally identical *mythoi*, "the primary and model form is the deliverance from Egypt, and the creation of the nation of Israel that formed part of this deliverance" (*The Great Code*, 171).²² In any case it is the narrative source of the paradigm I derive for

the Bible as a whole and to which I freely relate it. Because the Bible can be regarded as a series of repetitive substructures in each of which the structure of the whole is recapitulated, my choice among essentially congruent microcosms carries with it the assurance that it is not as limiting as might first appear. As I argued earlier for individual passages, the exodus can thus become a point of contact or of interpenetration between a literary work and the "mythological universe" of the Bible, as well as a map of its terrain.

Topography is, in fact, an interesting and significant source of metaphor in the exodus. Although maps of the journey from Egypt to the Promised Land cannot be drawn without extra-biblical invention,²³ the impulse to draw them has, I think, biblical meaning. Just as raw history was reworked and combined with other material to produce the paradigmatic narrative of the Bible, so raw topographical facts were transformed into a landscape of the imagination. 'Egypt,' 'Wilderness,' and 'Promised Land' are thus the counterparts of what takes place in them, and just as microstructure reflects macrostructure for paradigmatic history, so the the great pattern of three regions is potentially manifested in each physical location. In topographical terms, then, the eruption of the eternal into the temporal at theophanic moments often means a sudden rearrangement of the landscape: as the reader will see, a Promised Land becomes an Egypt, the Wilderness a kind of Promised Land, and so forth. Perhaps the sense of place that goes with this landscape is best described by the Psalmist when he sings that "The mountains skipped like rams, and the little hills like lambs" in the presence of God (Ps 114:4). In the face of such instability, I have assumed as one of my first tasks in the following chapters to distinguish the individuality of the three metaphorical places.

The tendency for radical rearrangement, particularly at moments of judgment, is due, then, to the vertical perspective, which at once radically simplifies the tripartite landscape and transforms it into something far more complex and significant. We saw earlier that from this axis all events and figures become one, so that the entire landscape is simultaneous in the one archetype that reflects it. Since the three phases of the journey are thus aspects of a single experience, the distinctions tend to dissolve and the regions shift or become identified according to the demands of context. Because the horizontal is never completely forgotten but reappears in small within the revelatory vision, the shifted, metamorphosed landscape is superimposed on the original one. Thus, under the polarizing force of revelation--according to which there is only Heaven, Hell, and the place of vision between--good and evil within the group or individual are separated out and go to their appointed places, and the remnant reenters the horizontal dimension of the quest under changed conditions.

An example will help clarify what I have just said. Perhaps the most purely vertical view of the exodus occurs in the lyric poem that follows the prose account of Israel's Red Sea passage, the so-called "Song of the Sea" (Ex 15), triumphantly sung by Moses and his people from the eastern shore. In it the whole journey appears in a radically simplified form: rather than the complex story of defection and obedience that lies ahead (note the reversal of the typological correspondence--here the 'antitype' occurs first), we see a single apocalyptic event, perfect and complete as no historical incident could ever be.

The Song itself seems to consist of three phases, with a brief coda. In the first (15:1-12), Israel's enemy is utterly annihilated: the Egyptians are drowned, dashed in pieces by the Lord's hand, burnt with his fiery wrath, and swallowed by the earth. By clear implication, Israel rises up while Egypt sinks "as lead in the mighty waters" (10). In the second phase (15:13) Israel's ascent into the presence of God is made explicit; Moses and all Israel sing,

Thou in thy mercy hast lead forth the people which thou hast redeemed: Thou hast guided them in thy strength unto thy holy habitation.

There are several possibilities for "habitation,"²⁴ but what matters here is that by the principle of metaphor all are identically the divine *beth-el* (Heb. "house of God"), the place of ultimate fulfillment. The third phase (15:14-18) though projecting the end of the journey into the future and introducing Canaanite foes, also contradicts later historical narrative and radically foreshortens its landscape: Israel's enemies "melt away" (Heb. *mug*), and the chosen people ascend effortlessly to the sanctuary on "the mountain of thine inheritance." The coda returns us to the great event in its simplicity, summarizing what one could call the charged facts of salvation history.

Thus inserted into the narrative, the Song suddenly interrupts the horizontal chronology of flight with a revelation of the quest in something like its eternal significance. History is not ignored nor discounted but employed and transcended. The whole of the liberation just achieved after protracted wrangling, and the whole of the wanderings to come are compressed

into a microcosm of the greater exodus, which is itself a microcosm of the journey whose story the whole Bible tells, as we will see.

The Red Sea event also illustrates what I meant by the complexity of the biblical quest. The radical vision in the Song reduces the whole of Egypt and its tyrannical oppression to the image of the surging waters of death beneath, and the Promised Land to the single Mountain of God, later identified with Sinai, then with Zion, rising up out of that chaos. (This image, of the world-mountain rising up from the surging waters of chaos, is a very common cosmogonic mythologem in the ancient Near East.)²⁵ The Wilderness vanishes for the moment, but when Israel reenters time the former blessing of dryness amidst the water, echoing the first creation story (Gen 1-2:4), becomes the blessing of water amidst the dryness, echoing the second (2:5ff). Sea and Wilderness are thus identified as Egypt and Wilderness (both places of fiery trial) are later. The former are indeed opposites, and the latter are contrasted sharply, especially by the Wilderness wanderers themselves, but through revelation we know them to be also identical. At Sinai, almost immediately following the Song's event, the world-mountain recurs in the Wilderness setting, but here also the licentious, chaotic mob at its base contrasting with what Brevard Childs calls "an architectonic calm" at its summit²⁶ implies an essential identity of Sea with Wilderness and of mountain summit, wherever it may occur, with the Promised Land. As we will see later, the Wilderness is consistently intermediate not only topographically but also metaphorically, in that it contains both realms of imprisonment and fulfillment, and can therefore be identified with Egypt or with the Promised Land. The changed conditions coming from Israel's apocalyptic vision at the

Sea are precisely realized in the duality of the Wilderness itself: normally a lawless wasteland, but for Israel also a place of Law and nourishment. When Isaiah prophesies that it will "blossom as the rose," he envisions the antitype of what Israel first experienced.

Initiation

V.

How, then, does the paradigm that I have just outlined affect the presence of the Bible in a literary context? Much earlier I remarked that biblical allusions seem to function much more like points of contact or of interpenetration with a complex metaphorical domain than as linkages to a particular set of words in the scriptural text. Of course the degree to which particular words are evoked will vary with usage, but even when the object of an allusion is very well defined, the allusion still conforms to the principle of what one could call polysemous reference. Whatever may be the case generally, this principle is implied, since in theory no passage to which allusion could be made is without its paradigmatic significance.

A specific allusion to Abraham, for example, will call forth the man of great faith (cf. Gen 12:1), and depending on the context it will select from among the elements of his story some to emphasize, some to ignore. The story of Abraham has a greater biblical context, however, so by the principle of polysemous reference, an allusion to him will potentially evoke his typical significance: the progenitor or carrier of the "chosen Seed" who (think now of both Noah and Moses) unexpectedly summoned by God wanders across a world-wilderness for the unknown destination where promised fulfillment will be his.

The local narrative gives the man Abraham a distinct personality, a temporal character; but what that character does in time, as his distinct character unfolds, adumbrates an eternal figure of man, whose life is 'the same old story.' Just so, John Milton the poet speaks in the invocation to Book 7 of *Paradise Lost* simultaneously in his own, inimitable voice and in the voice of all men at all times. Somewhat later in that same book (as we saw near the beginning of this chapter) his God alludes to Abraham and thus invests his Adam with biblically authorized lineaments of an individualized man *sub specie aeternitatis*. No catalogue can represent such complex, polysemous references, or resonances, but held in the mind undisturbed they awaken the reader to an intimacy and intensity of relationship between the Bible and the poem that, we will see, quickens both.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹ See my remarks on Sims, *The Bible in Milton's Epics*, in the Introduction. I am also thinking of the kind of knowledge, typified by Sims, that comes from footnotes to biblical passages in editions of *Paradise Lost* and forms the basis of critical arguments.

² For remarks on the problems of allusion in *Paradise Lost*, see Harding, *Club of Hercules*, Chapter 5, where types of open borrowings are classified; and, within that chapter, 89-90, where he discusses the difficulty of proving authorial intention in less 'open' parallels and echoes; Blessington, who remarks on the "broad allusion" to the whole of an epic plot or to more than one epic simultaneously (2-4); Di Cesare, on "the larger similarities of epic strategy in Vergil and Milton" (39); Cohen, *The Throne and the Chariot*, on the loose but powerful suggestiveness of some biblical allusions (37); and Greene, on the open-ended meaning of many Miltonic images (397).

³ This word, along with such similar terms as "aura" and "illusion," are used by Sims to describe the primary function of the Bible in *Paradise Lost*; see, for example, "the aura of truth" (7; cf. 11); "the atmosphere of authoritative reality" (63; cf. 12); the "air of immediate Biblical reality" (20); etc.

⁴ See, for example, May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *Mayim Rabbim*"; and Tromp, 59-66.

⁵ Cf. Prov 27:4, "anger is outrageous," in which the unique AV translation of Heb. *sheteph* (overflowing, flood) links overwhelming flood and annihilating wrath. See the OED, s.v., for the assumed derivation of 'outrage' from 'out' and 'rage,' reflected in its sense development ("Extravagant, violent, or disorderly action," etc., OED, 2). The etymological sense of exceeding bounds (fr. L. *ultra agium*) is also very much to the point (cf. Job 38:8-11). For other uses of Heb. *sheteph* and the related *shataph*, see Jer 47:2; Job 38:25; Ps 69:2,15; etc.

⁶ PL 7.184-91; cf. 7.148ff, and see Ezek 40-47; and cf. Jer 50:7 and 31:23 with PL 7.186.

⁷ See Stadelmann, 10-36, where the account in Genesis is compared with Near Eastern parallels and with the metaphors of primeval conflict between Yahweh and a monstrous enemy, in Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, and Prophets. See also von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:150-1.

⁸ See, for example, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, which Eliade regards as his most significant book (xv); and cf. Voegelin, Part 1 and *passim*, to which I am heavily indebted.

⁹ The chief sources for my discussion of typology (in a very approximate order of importance) are the following: Auerbach, "'Figura'"; his *Mimesis*, 14-20, 48-9, 73-4, 156-8, 194-202; Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*; and, among his many other works, *The Lord of History*; Frye, *The Great Code*; Childs, "Prophecy and Fulfillment"; Hummel; Markus; Cullmann; Lampe and Woollcombe, particularly Lampe's "The Reasonableness of Typology," 18-38; and Woollcombe's "The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology," 38-75; von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament"; Goppelt; Sahlin; Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah"; Hebert, *The Authority of the Old Testament*, 144-53, 199-238; Fairbairn. For a succinct statement of typology in the 17th Century, see Patrides, *Milton and the Christian*

Tradition, 128-30. An extensive bibliography is provided in Bercovitch. See also the works cited in the Introduction.

¹⁰ See Hummel, 40; Markus, 442; and Zwicker, *Dryden's Political Poetry*, 3f.

¹¹ "quanquam et in Vetere Novum lateat, et in Novo Vetus pateat," in his *Quaestionum in Heptateuchum*, 2.73 (Migne, 34:623). This is perhaps the most concise of several such statements scattered throughout his works.

¹² This aspect of typology is made especially clear by Auerbach; see, for example, *Mimesis*, 73-4, and "'Figura'," *passim*, quoted below.

¹³ For patristic typology, see Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*; for medieval typology, Smalley; and Auerbach, "'Figura'"; for typology in the Renaissance and Milton's use of it, the works cited in the Introduction.

¹⁴ Frye, *The Great Code*, 79-80; cf. Goppelt, ix, 4-5; Daniélou, *The Lord of History*, 227-32; Childs, "Prophecy and Fulfillment," 263-4.

¹⁵ See Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*; Hummel; Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah"; von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," 20, 32-3; Hebert, *The Authority of the Old Testament*, 199-201; Goppelt, 38-41, n. 99.

¹⁶ In that book Daniélou specifically points to the three great antitypes in the Hebrew prophets as proof of Old Testament typology: the Messianic kingdom and its king, which the prophets envision as a new Paradise and a new Adam (12-16); the second cataclysm, of which Noah's flood is the type (73-4); and finally, the new Exodus, which will have all the features of the old one, though transformed (155-6). As well, the second cataclysm and the new Exodus combine in Isaiah, "who describes the crossing of the Red Sea as a new victory of Yahweh over Rahab, type of both Egypt and the great Abyss (Is. 51:9-11)," and in Hosea the Messianic age is an antitype of the first Wilderness period, "a return of the time in the desert when the Nuptials of Jahweh with his people were celebrated" (154).

¹⁷ Hanson's *Allegory and Event* is perhaps the best study of allegory in the early period and its relation to typology; see, especially, Chapters 3-4, in which he notes many instances in Justin and others "where typology seems to be trembling on the verge of allegory" (105; cf. 39, 46-7, 125-9). See Auerbach, "'Figura,'" for a discussion of the historical conflict between allegorical and typological traditions through the patristic and medieval periods; Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics*, 121-2, for the contrast between the two techniques as a common Protestant motif; and Zwicker, *Dryden's Political Poetry*, 23-6, for the distinctions made in Renaissance texts. Somewhat more theoretical discussions of the differences can be found in Markus, 442-5; Daniélou, *The Lord of History*, 143-5, and "The Problem of Symbolism," 438; and Bernhard W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," 178-80. See also Ellis, 127-8; Fairbairn, 1:80, 92, 95, 101-2, 204-5; Galdon, 26, 32-8; Goppelt, 4-6, 10, 50-3; Hebert, *The Authority of the Old Testament*, 50-3; von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament," 21, 36-7; Reiter, 566-7.

¹⁸ See, for example, Daniélou's contrast between Matthean and Johannine typology, in *The Lord of History*, 224-7.

¹⁹ The Greek word *kairos* ordinarily means (1) "due measure, proportion, fitness"; (2) of place: a "vital part of the body"; (3) of time: "exact or critical time, season, opportunity" (Liddell and Scott). In religious usage the temporal sense becomes 'a point of time chosen by God,' and is conventionally contrasted with *chronos*, 'time that elapses.' For the meaning of these words and for the biblical conception of time, see Cullmann, 39ff, and *passim*; Pecheux, "Milton and *Kairos*," 197-8; and Tayler, who touches briefly on the biblical evidence, discusses the opposition of *kairos* and

chronos in the Renaissance, and relates that opposition to Milton's poetic and life (123-47, 187-8). Cullmann's book is reviewed by Daniélou, in "A Dialogue with Time"—itself a contribution to the subject. For further discussions of the Hebrew conception of time, see especially Childs, *Myth and Reality in the Old Testament*, 75-84, and "Prophecy and Fulfillment," 265-6. Childs points out that in the Bible time is measured not by its succession but by its quality—"It is the search for the 'right time' that interests the Hebrew"—hence that though the religious emphasis falls on "opportune time" (*kairos*), the Bible is not indifferent to "chronological time" (*chronos*); both are known by their quality or content ("Prophecy and Fulfillment," 265).

²⁰ See Daniélou's discussion of the contrast between the historical knowledge of God and the 'symbolic' knowledge of cosmological gods in "The Problem of Symbolism," 433ff and *passim*.

²¹ I distinguish the 'Exodus,' which can refer to the immediate events of the redemption from Egypt or to the entire journey to and arrival in the Promised Land (e.g., Engländer, 108), from the 'exodus,' by which I mean the whole journey considered as a paradigmatic quest. In any case, the Song of the Sea (Ex 15) is justification enough for my usage.

²² Given its importance as attested by scholarly comments, there are surprisingly few studies of the exodus in the Old Testament and none that are adequate for literary critical purposes. The most suggestive is Downing, but it is too brief to be more than a stimulus to research. Aside from Engländer's article, cited above, see also Daube; Hebert, *When Israel Came Out of Egypt*; Lubsczyk; Nixon, 5-10; and Stuart. The importance of the exodus for the Bible is discussed by a number of scholars, among them Bright, 27-8; Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 153-66; Ellis, 132-4; Hummel, 42-3; Jacob, 190-2; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:12-14, 175-9; Reiter, 563; and Wright, *The Old Testament Against Its Environment*, 49-50.

²³ See, for example, those in Fuller, 4:40-1, 74-5. In some respects Fuller is more accurate than his modern counterparts: he at least shows that the Wilderness was a kind of labyrinth.

²⁴ Heb. *naveh*. The most likely are Sinai, the Wilderness ark (for which see Patai, 100), the Promised Land as a whole, Mt. Zion, and Zion's temple (for which see Hyatt, 166-7 and BDBG, 627, col. b).

²⁵ For the world-mountain image and its relevance to the Bible, see Keel, 42, 113-20; Lurker, 44-7; Stadelmann, 50-1, 135, 152-4, and von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 46-8. Lieb, *Poetics of the Holy*, surveys various world-mountains, esp. in the Bible, and their occurrences in the Renaissance and in Milton's works (140-70); cf. MacCaffrey, 32-3, 56, 59. The most obvious biblical example of the mountain rising up out of the waters of death (or chaos) is found in the Deluge story, Gen 8:4.

²⁶ In *The Book of Exodus*, 562-3, where he points out "the juxtaposition of the sharpest contrasts possible" between what is going on at the summit and at the foot of the mountain. For the significance of the bull and of the mob's actions, see 564-7.

Chapter 2: Egypt

What is the biblical Egypt? The Hebrew name is *Mitsraim* (AV "Mizraim"), the land of the eponymous ancestor identified in Genesis as son of Ham and brother of Canaan (10:6). In the structure of the exodus it is no accident that the two great nations at either end of Israel's quest are 'brothers': they are the same kind of thing, and they exist in the framework of biblical history, in which the beginning meets itself in the end at a moment of crisis and revelation. I will need most of the next three chapters to develop the implications of that crucial meeting, but having again foreshadowed the goal, my present task must be to dwell on the question of Egypt's identity.

To Abram, Joseph, and Moses, Egypt is curiously ambiguous--sometimes a place of safety and life, sometimes of peril and death--but after the decisive confrontation of God with Pharaoh, Egypt is remembered by all but the wicked as the "house of bondage" (Ex 13:3; etc.) from which a group of Egyptian Hebrews were redeemed to become the nation of Israel. The ambiguity remains, however, in that during the plagues and especially at the Red Sea, God reveals the apparently rich and powerful empire to be in reality a kind of chaos or nonexistence. The author of Exodus 12:2, for example, clearly regarded the liberation from Egypt as Israel's beginning ("This month shall be unto you the beginning of months"), and so in his implicitly cosmological language has connected Egypt itself with the preformal state prior to the creative act of redemption.

Northrop Frye calls these two aspects of the biblical enemy "the parody-demonic, associated with the temporary prosperity of heathen kingdoms, and the manifest demonic, the wasteland of drought that lies in wait for them" (*The Great Code*, 145). The story in which Egypt is embedded shows these two states as beginning and end of a process, whose positive counterpart is the creative redemption of Israel out of revealed Egyptian chaos, and eventually the ongoing separation of good from evil that characterizes the whole exodus. It would seem, then, that Egypt serves a purpose (God, in fact, declares it to Pharaoh in Ex 9:16), so that our question of Egypt's identity must widen to include Israel's presence: we must ask not 'What is Egypt?' but 'What is Egypt to the emerging Hebrew nation?'

In the framework of the exodus as I have defined it, Egypt stands at the beginning. To the migrating Hebrews fleeing starvation in Canaan, Egypt is first a place of nurture in a time of death and therefore something like a Promised Land. Its true nature, however, is radically different, though recognized as such only after great suffering. The demonic Egypt is not perceived by the sojourning Israelites until in an event analogous to Adam's fall the sudden loss of the security established by Joseph reveals the evil Joseph first experienced but did not fully understand. Furthermore, Israel's costly, painful insight that Egypt is a treacherous "house of bondage" and a mighty demonic kingdom is itself revealed as an illusion at the Red Sea. To Israel, then, it is a place of trial within a context of spiritual development. In consequence, our question must change again: we must ask, 'What is the nature of the suffering and the development for which Egypt

stands?' Since this is a literary study, that question is really, 'What kinds of metaphors are associated with Egypt in the context of Israel's sojourn there?'

In what follows I will show that the characteristic Egyptian metaphors bear out the implication of its chaotic and chaos-tending nature at each level of the biblical 'chain of being': if spiritual, Egypt is the infernal regions; if cosmological, a kind of chaos; if anthropomorphic, the womb or belly; if agricultural, the earth; if mineral, the mine or furnace. The usefulness of these metaphors or metaphorical complexes lies in the fact that each implies a developmental process--redemption of the dead, creation of the world, gestation of the individual, germination and growth of plants, and smelting of ores--in which the Bible represents the spiritual evolution of the Chosen People, their exodus from bondage into freedom. Before filling in the details, however, we need a structure that will adequately account for these various metaphors and give us some idea of their potential significance.

The comparative study of religion, especially in the works of Mircea Eliade, provides a very useful set of terms and parallel religious phenomena with which to discuss the present problem. These teach us to recognize the Egyptian 'context' of Israel's development as a religious initiation and to understand how apparently diverse types of imagery come to be associated with initiations.¹ Eliade's studies show that initiation is a particular and apparently universal religious form with characteristic modes of thought and expression, and it is with this form or formal structure in its qualified application to the Bible that I am principally interested. I will not pretend

to do justice to Eliade's work in its own sphere, for my concerns are both quite different and more specific, but his conclusions are of immense significance to a structural study of biblical metaphor. I ask the reader, at least for the duration, to assume that the human imagination in some measure escaped the curse that fell on the builders of Babel and is still able to speak, however haltingly, one language.

I.

In brief, initiation is a religious experience in which a profane outsider undergoes a transforming ordeal and through it gains access to the sacred, becoming part of the community that it defines (*Birth and Rebirth*, x, 3). Initiation is what van Gennep originally called a *rite de passage* from one condition or level of being to another (cf. *The Sacred and the Profane*, 184-8), thus implying if not exhibiting a quest through time and space, though the central event takes place outside of ordinary time and space. It is normally presided over by a "master of initiation" (*Birth and Rebirth*, 23, 35), who corresponds, we will see, in agriculture to the farmer and in metallurgy to the smith, and who in the context of the Bible is an analogy for God. Significant in this respect is that the master of initiation is a representative of the gods and that the initiand is taken (often against his will) to the place of trial, where he is either abandoned or treated harshly by the gods' human agents. Israel's experience in Egypt is remarkably similar: ultimately, we will see, the Egyptians are God's helpers, according to a biblical principle I will return to later.

According to Eliade, initiation takes three forms of increasing intensity and concentration: one at puberty, another for admission to a secret society, and the third in the creation of the shaman, the *homo religiosus* (*Birth and Rebirth*, 2). All of these aim at a communal organization, even the shaman's, whose society is of spirits or gods (*Shamanism*, 5-6, 34, 75ff), though he is also an intermediary between human and divine realms. All seek access to the sacred. This tripartite structure appears in the organization of the Wilderness tribes: the people at large, initiated by circumcision; the Levites, a priesthood initiated by another act of separation and bloodshed (Ex 32:25-9); and Moses the prophet, whose characteristic isolation, call, display of miraculous powers, mastery of fire, and familiarity with the spirit-world suggest a parallel to the shaman's experience.² Moses is indeed one of the two chief *homines religiosi* in the Bible; the other, Elijah, shows his mastery of fire on Mt. Carmel (1 Kings 18:38); in his translation, which involves a fiery chariot (2 Kings 2:11); and in the Transfiguration, when he appears with Moses flanking the incandescent Christ on "an high mountain" (Mark 9:2ff). Moses, the great mediator, is metaphorically the individual form of his people, and in what follows we will see that trial by fire, as in Egypt and the Wilderness, in addition to trial by water, as at the Red Sea, is a metaphor of spiritual initiation for the people whom he represents.

On the human level, fire and heat naturally suggest sexual activity, as Bachelard has brilliantly demonstrated. In the Bible the same connection is made in the image of burning Sodom, and, for example, in the author of Proverbs' warning against the "evil," "strange," and "whorish" woman, who is

likened to fire (6:25-8). I will return shortly to both burning city and 'burning' woman, whose significance for my inquiry is far more extensive than may at first appear. In initiation, puberty is similarly the occasion for a transforming ordeal, which is ultimately psycho-spiritual: the potentially chaotic and destructive release of sexual energy beginning at puberty becomes through ritual a cosmically significant and socially useful entry into adulthood and union of the sexes. In the Bible sexual union has a similar ambiguity: when used positively it is a metaphor of mental awakening and spiritual union as in initiation, and negatively, a metaphor figuring a return to some preformal condition. Especially as exemplified in the Canticles and in Hosea, the bond between God and man is metaphorically sexual, and the downpouring divine energy in whatever form it may assume (manna, the oil of anointment, or the meteorological blessings of sun, wind, and rain), sexual energy.³ Not all biblical metaphors of divine love or providential care must necessarily be sexual, but that kind of symbolism turns up quite frequently, as we will see.

The rite of puberty illustrates another fundamental initiatory pattern found in the Bible. The initiand is first confined in some way for the length of his ordeal and then let go, just as his potentially chaotic sexuality is first bound up within the prescribed limits traditional to his society before it is released to fulfill and energize them. In Genesis creation is expressed in a parallel sequence: a binding up of the primeval waters⁴ and then a creative release of waters into a primeval desert (Gen 2:6). The two accounts of creation are presented sequentially, but we will see that they can also be considered as simultaneous aspects of the same process (the binding of the

water-monster, for example, is the release of those it has swallowed), and that this process is parodied in two fundamental aspects of the typical demonic empire, the imprisonment of its people in the deceptive solidity of its might, and the dissipation or return to chaos that all false glory amounts to. The two rhythms of binding and release are connected as well with two forms of spiral movement, the centripetal and the centrifugal respectively, and so with two aspects of the labyrinth or its dynamic form in movement, the one which is supposed to bind up what it encircles, the other which similarly unwinds the protective or imprisoning barrier. I will explore these various suggestions later as required, but we should be prepared to see them from the outset as variations on a single theme.

The central event of all initiations is a ritual or symbolic death followed by a rebirth. Eliade remarks that, "Initiatory death signifies the end at once of childhood, of ignorance, and of the profane condition" and "provides the clean slate on which will be written the successive revelations whose end is the formation of a new man" (*Birth and Rebirth*, xii-xiii). Since the individual is thought to be a microcosm, his symbolic death and rebirth correspond to the retrogression of the world to chaos and the subsequent cosmogony. Cosmogonic mythology is therefore an important source for initiatory symbolism; it "serves as the paradigm, the exemplary model, for every kind of making" (xii). This paradigm has a characteristic, indeed defining shape. Its cyclical conception--in ritual "it is periodically reiterated in order to regenerate the world and human society" (xii)--betrays what Voegelin has called "the cosmological order," the principle abstracted from the cycles of nature, not only or even primarily the heavenly cycles but

also those observable in the seemingly endless round of death and birth among animals and plants and those in the slower rhythms of the mineral world, observed and imagined. The event of human initiation, following its cosmogonic original, thus draws its imagery from all levels of existence (cosmic, animal, vegetable, and mineral), on each of which is thought to be something analogous to initiatory death and rebirth. For reasons that will appear, the mental and spiritual world brought about with the discovery of agriculture underlies the rest, so I begin with the plants.⁵

Like the primitive hunter, the first farmer had to be a keen observer and sympathetic participant in nature, but because he intervened in the vegetable world, his conception of life--both his own life and that of his world--widened enormously from that of the hunter-gatherer. He identified himself with the cultivated plant, and this habit of mind went both ways: not only was human sexuality projected onto the vegetable world and its supporting meteorological phenomena, but the living plant and its dormant seeds also became analogies of human life, providing in effect a revelation of the central mystery of death and rebirth. (Purely as metaphors these deepened insights passed into the Bible, as I will show.) At this point it will be instructive to formulate logically the kinds of identification which the interpenetration of human and vegetable worlds lead to, so that we can understand the basis of the sacrificial imagery of creation, perhaps its most crucial metaphor.

If the plant is an image of man, then the earth is the cosmic analogy of his mother.⁶ Both man and plant come forth out of a womb, one human, the other telluric. Mother Earth--not just the ground but the entire sustaining natural order--can be self-sufficient, but the sexual dialectic suggests the fatherhood of the overarching sky, and in particular the fertilizing storm-god, apotheosis of the various meteorological phenomena.⁷ As man is to woman, so the storm-god is to the maternal earth. Thus man is both son and lover of Mother Earth: both her vegetable offspring and, by identification with the storm-god, her fertilizing consort. The human farmer imitates him when he plows the ground and sows the seed; these are sexual acts, as the evidence abundantly demonstrates.⁸ Again, man is also the son and therefore potentially the seed cast into the ground as well as the one who casts it. What the seed undergoes becomes an image of human existence, both past (conception, gestation, and birth) and future (death, burial, rebirth), hence also the eternal present of the theophanic moment glimpsed during initiation.

Thus, in archaic ideas of burial, the bereaved are thought to return the dead to the cosmic place of origin, the womb of the same telluric mother in which the farmer sows his seeds (Eliade, *Patterns*, 349-52). Like the seed, the body undergoes corruption in the earth and disintegrates; agricultural mysticism, with whose imagery Paul was familiar (cf. 1 Cor 15:35ff), envisaged that as the plant, full of renewed life, is reborn from the dark confines of the soil, so also will the dead be reborn. In its ritual form the ordeal of disintegration was enacted as a sacrificial dismemberment or cosmic battle, which turns up as a theme in several creation myths.⁹ Here, too, one can see the ambiguity built into the nature of this transformation: from one

perspective the mouth of the grave is the gate of Hell and extinction; from the opposite it is the portal of Heaven and renewed life. If both are mixed into one frame, body, or group, then the disintegration becomes a transforming separation of the evil from the good, as we will see in the Red Sea passage and throughout the exodus. The physical kernel of the metaphor illustrates this: only part of the seed is reborn.

Rebirth suggests immediately the never-ending natural round, which is certainly a part of what the agricultural analogy leads to. Nevertheless, the fact of human intervention into the natural process suggests escape from the round. The harvested produce of the earth does not return there as its wild counterpart largely does: in the harvest the fruits of the earth are taken from it, the humanly useful separated from the useless, and the useful transformed by digestion (another process analogous to the ordeal of the seed in the earth) into the flesh of higher life. Of course this same thing happens when cattle eat grass, but agriculture allows the upward movement of life to be given human significance. Thus the farmer's identification with his crops is completed and transcended, in that he turns them into something more than their natural selves. In harvesting and ingestion he acts out a metaphor of resurrection: the liberation from the lower world of nature, in which death is inevitable and final, into the mythological world of the imagination, where there is no death.

This ascending movement is the fundamental dynamic of initiation: the upward metamorphosis from a natural, profane and nonhuman state to a cultured life of the spirit (Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, 3). As both the obstetrical and

agricultural analogies suggest, the initiatory process begins in the act of rupture or separation from the mother, a kind of forced birth (4, 7ff), forced, one suspects, because of what Eliade elsewhere calls "the nostalgia of matter (that is, of a mode of being corresponding to the inertia and unconsciousness of substance) for the primordial immobility, the resistance to all movement" (*A History of Religious Ideas*, 1:70). In the Bible, we will see, this nostalgia shows up in the Israelites' longing for return to the maternal Egypt. From the maternal point of view, initiatory metamorphosis or rebirth is a death and disappearance of the child whom she will never possess again as such; in some myths the rupture takes the form of a theft by the gods or their representatives. Commonly the mother is led to believe that her son has been or will soon be eaten by the wild animal or monstrous divine being whose body is often represented by the initiatory hut or other symbolic structure in which the initiand is confined. This hut is a symbol of the maternal order, from whose human representative the initiand has just been taken, in which the mythical reality of his maternal attachment can be realized and overcome.

The ordeal of the seed is obviously related to this imagined fate, with the rending teeth of the mythical beast substituted for the gentler but no less thoroughly disintegrating powers of the moist soil, and the mouth and belly of the one in place of the vagina and womb of the other's anthropomorphic body. In either case, and in a multitude of other variations on this theme, the initiand disappears from view into a place of confinement, where he suffers the ordeal ordained for him.

The theme of being eaten or swallowed by a monster or of being threatened by such a fate is quite common in the Bible; Jonah is perhaps the most obvious example. In the Joseph story that I mentioned earlier, it turns up in a suggestively initiatory context, and we now have just enough of the symbolism in hand to see how the structure of initiation can be used as an exegetical tool. All the essential elements occur: a sudden and violent separation from the parent (a doting, almost maternally protective father) at the hands of older males by fictitious death (Gen 37:14, 33-5); isolation in a wilderness (22); the fiction of his being devoured by a wild beast there (20, 33); the ordeals, distributed across a series of confining structures; and finally, the reunion of Joseph with Israel as the powerful being of his youthful dreams (42:9). In his first ordeal he is lowered into a dry "pit" (Heb. *bor*, pit, cistern, well),¹⁰ then sold into slavery; then again sold as a slave in Potiphar's household; and finally imprisoned in Pharaoh's "dungeon" (*bor*). From these he emerges into Egyptian power and glory, which for a while seem fulfillment of the divine promise; the sudden change of government, however, reveals not merely that Egypt is a pit or "house of bondage," but that the fulfillment of the promise is a great deal more complex and difficult than first appears.

Joseph's ordeals can be read as a series of events in time, but they can also be considered metaphorically identical images of descent into a lower world, the essence, I just suggested, of Egypt itself. Their common identity is indicated in part by the recurrence of descent and containment motifs, in part by the verbal link between the first and last of his literal prisons, and finally by the motif of Joseph's death. He is sold first to Ishmaelite spice

merchants, whose cargo includes materials for embalming (Gunkel, 408), and the last we hear of him in Genesis is his death: "and they embalmed him and he was put in a coffin in Egypt" (50:26). Earlier, when Joseph's brothers show Jacob the feigned evidence of his death, Jacob cries out (with the precision only metaphorical language can have), "I will go down mourning to my son in Sheol" (37:35 JPSA/T). In a sense that is exactly what Israel does. Jacob, eventually following his son into Egypt, brings the initiand of all Israel together into the pit of bondage and transformation.

Potiphar's household resolves into Potiphar's wife, who tries to lure Joseph into her womb, so to speak, and although he escapes this entrapment, he does so only to land in Pharaoh's dungeon. Again, the principle of metaphor allows us to see that on one level of the story Joseph does not escape the whore's imprisoning womb, for it is not only metaphorically identical with the dungeon but also with the whole of Egypt, which in biblical terms is certainly a place of whoredom (cf. Prov 7:27). Entry into Egypt, then, can be equally described as being eaten by a wild beast, implying a descent into the monster's guts; as descending into the grave; as being sold into slavery; as entering the great whore's womb, which being implicitly subterranean can be further identified with the earth mother's; and as descending into a dungeon.

Egypt, however, exists on two levels, like all demonic kingdoms in the Bible. The narrative finally shows us, beginning at Exodus 1:8 (the sudden change of government I referred to earlier), that these images of descent just catalogued are aspects of what Egypt truly is, but meanwhile, the story of Joseph's rise to power gives us the impressive illusion of a powerful, rich,

abundant, and highly organized kingdom, hardly the seething moral and spiritual chaos we have been alerted to by the metaphors. The whore has edible blandishments; these lure Israel to her, and Israel prospers for a time there. Like Jesus in Milton's *Paradise Regained* the alert reader sees both the plenitude and the demonic talons offering it, a test and temptation which the backsliders in the Wilderness fail.

Thus Egypt is Israel's house of initiation, and from this perspective Joseph's fall into Egypt (again, a repetition of the first Fall) cannot be wholly or even essentially accidental. The story of Moses both adds onto this initiatory structure and repeats it. As in the story of Joseph, the stages of Moses' early life follow an initiatory sequence (Ex 2:1-10): the separation from his mother, which is associated with violence and death (the slaughter of the innocents); the placing of the child in an ark on the river, so as to set the stage for his symbolic birth out of the primeval waters of a lower world;¹¹ and the "birth" itself into the adoptive household of Egypt. The metaphorical birth out of water has several aspects, of which we need to notice two at the moment. The first and most obvious is the typological anticipation of the Red Sea passage, which as a birth out of the watery womb of the lower world is certainly one of the chief images of the story. The second is the separation from Moses' natural mother and consequent adoption by Pharaoh's daughter, a narrative element which echoes the larger mythic theme of the birth of the hero. What is particularly significant here is that through this adoption Moses becomes Egyptian and Egypt, through its princess, his mother. (The fact that Moses' name has an Egyptian as well as Hebrew meanings, whether the biblical authors knew it or not, agrees with his complex

nature before the liberation.)¹² The same is true for Moses' people: Egypt is the land of their birth. Those who originally settled there were relatively few in number, but those others who leave the fruitful womb of Egypt prosperous generations later are many (cf. Ex 12:37 with Gen 46:1-27).

Because Egypt is in a sense the mother of Moses, his flight to Midian suggests yet another initiation motif, this time on the level of the individual *homo religiosus*.¹³ Isolated on the Mountain of God, he is confronted by a fiery theophany, allowed to enter into the divine presence, given the numinous word in the form of the Tetragrammaton, and, the story deftly suggests, transformed from an insecure and unworthy exile into the most powerful figure of the Old Testament (except, perhaps, for Elijah, another shamanic type). He then descends into the maternal Egypt and assists in the birth of his people. As I suggested earlier, the movement from maternal childhood to the initiatory hut implies that the symbolic return to the womb is an acting out or realization of where the initiand already is. Like the whole of the exodus, it is a revelation in the form of a journey.

In initiation, crossing the boundary into sacred space normally means receiving the transmission of sacred knowledge by which contact with divinity is thereafter made possible (Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, x-xii, 19-20, 37-40), establishing what one might call the bond of the word. This knowledge normally takes the form of the tribal myths of origin, which tell of a time when the gods walked the earth and things as they now are then came to be. Initiation itself, we have seen, imitates the great exemplar of all making, the cosmogony, and since it is the initiand himself who is being made new, he is

implicitly likened to the stuff of chaos and recreated through the ritual narration of the cosmic creation. (Hence in its simplest form initiation can consist of the essential act of instruction revealing to the initiate his embryonic and preformal condition and the inherently sacred cosmos he is thus about to enter.) The story of the creation of the world is both the cause and the story of his own rebirth. This may help to show why Moses, who at the climax of Israel's covenantal initiation is given the divine word, is traditionally regarded as the author of the sacred stories recorded in the Pentateuch, and why the people during that initiation are implicitly likened to chaos (the chaotic mob in orgiastic worship of the calf) against the archetypal background of the cosmic mountain.

The idea of the creative word that I have just indicated is illustrated perfectly by Raphael's narration to Adam in *Paradise Lost*,¹⁴ and by the opening of the gospel of John. Voegelin remarks that the creative work of the Word "continues through the instructions issued to Adam and requiring his co-operative obedience" (171); this means that both the master of initiation as storyteller and the craftsman (as we will see) create analogously by their word.

Now that we have an overview of the whole process, we must take a closer look at the initiatory ordeal itself, specifically at the primary types of metaphor used to represent it, and then we can go on to consider the imagery of release or liberation from initiatory confinement. I will begin with the biblical Egypt, the "iron furnace" (Deut 4:20; etc.) that will introduce us to the spiritual world of metallurgy.

II.

The metaphors of descent into an Egyptian place each imply a corresponding ordeal. Some of these ordeals are explicit in the primary Exodus account and others--particularly the more boldly metaphorical ones, such as Jonah's--turn up elsewhere under equivalent circumstances. Israel's confused or mixed relation to the maternity of Egypt implies that the plagues are but one aspect of the multifaceted ordeal visited upon all within the land. The significance of the plagues is very difficult to determine in any exact or complete way (cf. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 121-77), but in the context of initiation some enlightened guesses are possible. The images of blood and putrefaction touch on both birth and death (Ex 7:19-21; 8:2-14, 21-4; etc.), suggesting, for example, the seed-like disintegration of the downward-tending part from which Israel breaks free, much like the final separation at the Red Sea. The "thick darkness" (11:22) is also an agent of separation, especially in the intense mythological form given it in the apocryphal book of Wisdom, to which I will return; and the sacrifice of first-born males suggests the blood sacrifice and ritual dismemberment that normally precede a cosmogony or cosmogonic sacrifice. The Hebrews are isolated from these ordeals, but they suffer the previous cruelties inflicted by the Egyptians.

The initiatory context suggests and later biblical passages confirm that the Egyptians (with all other enemies of Israel) are in reality the hand of God in another form--God's helpers;¹⁵ as he says to Pharaoh, "for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee my power" (Ex 9:16). Thus, though

no mention is made of Israel's fear of God--a common element in the initiatory ordeal (Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, 9, 35)--until later at Sinai, its role is taken by the cruelty of Pharaoh's God-hardened heart. The hard labour inflicted on Israel is one kind of crushing affliction (later imaged by the rending teeth of the metaphorical beast of prey, as in Pss 37:12; 124:6; etc.), made human and individual by the Egyptian who smites a Hebrew in Moses' sight (Ex 2:11) and by the slaughter of innocents from which Moses escapes by a ruse (1:22; 2:2-3). Like a retentive gut or womb, Pharaoh attempts to keep the Hebrews from leaving Egypt: at one point he instructs the midwives to kill all newborn males of Hebrew mothers (1:16), which strongly suggests the attempt to keep Israel from being born. It may be significant in this context that Pharaoh's initial fear is that "in the event of war they may join our enemies in fighting against us and *rise from the ground*" (Ex 1:10 JPSA/T).¹⁶

I will return to the obstetrical metaphors of the exodus liberation and their significance for the metaphors of nourishment, but while on the subject of the initiatory ordeal I want first to consider its manifestation in the mineral kingdom, that is, in the metaphors of metallurgical purification. I am particularly interested in the complex of images that tend to cluster about both forge and crucible, the places of fiery transformation and therefore of what one can call the ordeal or passion of ores and base metals, which like the closely related ordeal of the seed becomes an essential part of the language of the exodus liberation. Indeed, Eliade has shown that metallurgy and agriculture arose in the same "spiritual universe."¹⁷

Not only did the smith forge the instruments of farming and likewise bring his produce (ores) out of the earth for further transmutation, but more significantly he shared the fundamental conceptions and images of the primitive agriculturist. The metallurgist's world, like the farmer's, attests to the idea of a mystical sympathy between man and nature, which is to say that like the farmer's his thought took the shape of metaphor: 'that is I.' He projected both anthropomorphic form and sexual identity onto the physical world: stones, ores, tools, and the processes of transformation were invested with sexual and generative power (*The Forge and the Crucible*, 34-42), and the earth out of which he dug his ores was the body of the telluric mother, the mine her womb (43-52). To him all things within her--ores as well as seeds and the bodies of the dead--were therefore embryonic, gestating towards full development with the temporal rhythm proper to themselves (40ff). Also like the farmer the metallurgist actively intervened in the natural process; he was a *homo faber* and his god a *deus faber*. His characteristic gesture, striking the anvil with his hammer, imitated the parallel act of the strong god and fertilizing male, who strikes the earth with his thunderstones, signalling the sexual union of heaven and earth (30).

As the human analogue of the creative act suggests, this god works with raw materials, not *ex nihilo*. He is primarily a procreator, a fertilizer, one who releases energy and realizes potential form, not at all the aloof divinity who retires from the world he has made. Typically this storm divinity is more or less an adjunct of the Great Mother (31), though the fact of his intervention, i.e. his separate existence, argues for his connection with the biblical God. He creates the world by sexual union with the Great Mother and by blood

sacrifice, both of these being expressions of the return to preformal chaos or to the cosmic womb; on the human level, these acts are ritually imitated by sexual rites and orgies and human or animal sacrifices, the victim representing the god or the original macranthropic body out of which the cosmos was made. The sacred victim returns to the preformal condition, thought of as charged with the undiminished energy of new life, so that he may come forth in the form of whatever is being fashioned with the numinous power present at the beginning (31-3).

Ores are dug out of the earth, the telluric womb in which all things are embryonic. Mining is therefore a violation, just as plowing is, and requires the appropriate rites of passage and mysteries (53-64). It is also a usurpation: by removing the geologic embryos before their term and refining them in his artificial womb (shape, function, and ritual gloss all suggest this), the metallurgist takes the place of nature and accelerates her creative activity (38-9, 57). Both his actions and his tools are sexual and generative; they are filled, as I have indicated, with creative significance by explicit parallels with the sexual act in its archetypal context. Thus the smith impregnates his furnace with the seminal ores, like the farmer sowing seeds into the open furrow; the ore, like the seed, must be disintegrated in order to become what it truly is. Purified metal emerges from the furnace to be given form, analogous to the gathering of the harvest. As smith the *homo faber* works the furnace-product with his hammer,¹⁸ continuing the process begun in the furnace and imitating the primordial fertilizing blow from the divinized hammer or thunderbolt.

Fire, the transforming agent, is notably sexual and generative in several respects,¹⁹ but in metallurgical terms it is also a purifier and separator. Fire thus becomes associated with the very state of purity: that which is pure is that which can exist in or endure the passage through fire; all else is destroyed. The reader will recall that "mastery of fire," the ability to bring forth, dwell in, or pass through it, is one of the essential characteristics of the shaman and often of the biblical man of God. (One thinks of Moses, Elijah, and the three Holy Children in Daniel.) Before his fall, the king of Tyre, "perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created," "walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire" (Ezek 28:14-15). I will return to him later.

Before going on to alchemy, the next step in the development of this symbolism, we must stop to note the verbal component of smithcraft (Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, 98ff). The creative power of the smith's tools and methods indicates their sacredness, that is, their imitative participation in the divine life. Just as the discovery of a mine or vein of ore is a kind of revelation and mining itself a mystery surrounded by rites, so too the rules for the making and use of the smith's powerful tools constitute sacred and hence secret knowledge, and the craft itself is properly a 'mystery.' From one point of view the smith and his tools become secondary instruments of that sacred knowledge; the craft secrets of metallurgy then are identified with the act of making itself and could hence be called the *words that create*. Further, the art of the smith thus has a natural affinity with other activities based on the conception of a magical or numinous language, such as the occult

sciences and the arts of song and poetry. Again, we can return to the structure of initiation and draw a close parallel: as, in the sense just developed, the raw ore is purified and transformed by the active 'word' of the smith, by the knowledge of which he is master and custodian, so is the initiate recreated by the sacred knowledge given him by his master of initiation. The word as active agent can in that way be identified with fire, and thus the perfect adjectival use of fire is possible in the metaphor of the *fiery word* of God: the word which is fire, comes out of fire, and lives in fire. Consider the theophany in the Burning Bush (Ex 3:2).

Alchemy, Eliade has pointed out, develops and makes explicit the soteriological function inherent in smithcraft. The alchemists "projected onto Matter the initiatory function of suffering"; their operations, "corresponding to the tortures, death and resurrection of the initiate," were intended to transmute the raw ore (as impure as themselves) into the transcendental substance and symbol of immortality, gold. "Alchemical transmutation is therefore equivalent to the perfecting of matter or, in Christian terminology, to its redemption" (*The Forge and the Crucible*, 151), and the alchemist thereby becomes "the brotherly saviour of Nature" (52):

The gestation of metals in the bowels of the earth obeys the same temporal rhythms as those which bind man to his carnal and fallen condition; to hasten the growth of metals by the operation of alchemy is tantamount to absolving them from the laws of Time (114).

The details and terminology of ancient and medieval alchemy do not concern us here and are only of occasional relevance to Milton. What alchemy does help us to see is the link between the metallurgist's world and the Bible; it shows us

how forge and crucible could become metaphors of the fallen world, where an analogous process of transmutation works on man as he journeys through it.

In the Bible God assumes the role of both fire and smith. That the nature of a heavenly god and sky-father should be fiery is hardly surprising and certainly not an exclusively biblical or Near Eastern idea, but its obviousness should not dull us to the complexity and significance of the image. As we have just seen, the basic ideas on which this complex of metaphors is built are these: the miner-metallurgist enters the womb of the earth, where embryonic mineral ores are slowly gestating; he removes them to his furnace, symbolically thus inseminating the artificial womb, where their growth to maturity is dramatically accelerated. The furnace's fire, analogous to the warmth of the human womb, burns away the imprisoning dross and liberates the pure metal, which remains unchanged and incandescent amidst the flames. The smith then brings the refined metal out of the fire into the higher plane of human life. Notice that when smith and fire are both identified with the *deus faber* four separate events can be seen as different aspects of the same divine act: the removal of ores from the earth and the removal of the refined metal from the furnace are both equivalent to the separation of metal from dross and to the working of refined metal. The significance of these equivalences will become clear in what follows.

The biblical image most often identified with the furnace is the demonic city or kingdom, as womb symbolism would suggest. Sodom is just such a place.²⁰ Although Lot is nowhere likened to refined metal nor is he said to suffer directly from the wrathful fire, he is brought out of a place likened

to a furnace, and he is protected by "angels" from the ordeal imposed on him by the lustful sodomites, whose passion finds answering retribution in the destructive fire from God. The morphology of the story thus conforms to the pattern we seek: the godly man rising up out of the demonic furnace-city, leaving the ungodly to perish utterly in the flames. In this way Sodom is a type for all such places, as Isaiah realized when he envisioned Babylon suffering the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah (13:19). Babylon also turns up in Daniel's account of the fiery furnace, which bears striking structural resemblances to the story of Israel in Egypt. In both cases men of God are at peace in a foreign land, when without warning the ruler imposes on them harsh treatment, a severe initiatory ordeal that reveals the true nature of the place; brought to the ultimate test--the Red Sea and the furnace--the men of God pass through without harm, whereas the oppressors perish. This parallel suggests that the fiery furnace is a synecdoche for Babylon itself (an antitype of Sodom), and that the ordeals of water and fire have much in common.

In a context that may allude to the Egyptian liberation and is certainly metallurgical, the Psalmist declares, "we went through fire and water: but thou broughtest us out to a wealthy place" (66:12; cf. A. A. Anderson, 1:476), a memory of protection that takes the form of an eschatological prophecy in Isaiah (4:4; 43:2). Both water and fire are cleansing agents from which the 'clean' have nothing and the polluted everything to fear (cf. Num 31:21-4). Water and fire are also interestingly paired as the first and last agents of universal destruction, from which the world emerges transformed, or as connected aspects of the same apocalypse: in Amos when the Lord touches the

land, "it shall melt...and it shall rise up wholly like a flood: and [all] shall be drowned, as by the flood of Egypt" (9:5; cf. Nahum 1:5,8). Perhaps this will help us to understand how it is that Egypt, brought to an apocalyptic focus at the Red Sea as the primary example of the submarine kingdom, comes in later writings to be thought of as "the iron furnace." We are prepared for this figure by the plagues of fire and hail (Ex 9:23; cf. Ps 105:32) and of boils, which Moses brings on Egypt with ashes taken from a furnace (Ex 9:8), but a deeper reason for the association would appear to lie in the pervasive stratum of initiatory symbolism common to both watery and fiery agents of perfection. Both, finally, convey the dissolution of apparently solid reality into fluid chaos, out of which a new creation can be brought forth.

In his prophecy of the final destruction of Egypt, Isaiah plays upon the motif of the drying up of "the sea" and "the river" (19:5)—a variant of the Red Sea event (cf. Kaiser, *Isaiah* 13-39, 100)—but links that effect of divine fire to another, the melting of Egypt's heart (19:1). Thus what had been "the furnace of affliction" for Israel (48:10) becomes, as in the plagues, a furnace of destruction for Egypt itself.²¹ Jericho, another demonic city bound up within itself (Josh 6:1), becomes furnace-like through its collective reaction to the presence of the Lord, who 'appears' to the citizens of that city as the news of his mighty deeds—i.e., as his destructive word. (Elsewhere we find the numinous, fiery word that is pure "as silver tried in a furnace...seven times"²² and therefore is purifying.)²³ The harlot Rahab tells the spies that when the inhabitants heard of the Red Sea liberation and of the defeat of Sihon and Og, "our hearts did melt," a reaction later shared by the

Amorite and Canaanite kings and there closely linked with the drying up of the waters of the Red Sea (Josh 2:11; 4:23; 5:1).

Like Sodom, Egypt, Babylon, and Jericho, Jerusalem also becomes a demonic city and therefore the Lord's furnace. His prophet Jeremiah is his founder, who "melteth in vain," whose fiery words cannot transform the "reprobate silver" which this furnace contains (6:29-30). Similarly, Ezekiel prophesies that "the house of Israel is to me become dross" and that as metals are gathered into the furnace, so Yahweh will gather Israel into the furnace of Jerusalem and melt her (22:18-22). In prophecies of the last judgment, the whole world becomes a furnace in which all is melted down, purged, and refined (cf. Mal 3:2-3, 4:1; Nahum 1:5; etc.), and out of which the ideal world emerges newly formed.

The "devouring fire" of the Lord's presence (Ex 24:17) may be a primary object of religious terror--all initiatory theophanies are to the mixed or impure--but, as I have mentioned, its action is ambiguous. The Psalmist declares this ambiguity:

...as wax melteth before the fire, so let the wicked perish at the presence of God. But let the righteous be glad; let them rejoice before God: yea, let them exceedingly rejoice. (68:2-3; cf. 11:5-6)

What happens in the furnace, and therefore what the furnace is, depends on the state of him whom the divine metallurgist smelts. Nebuchadnezzar, acting as the demonic agent of God who "proves" the godly, beholds just such a separation by fire, which "slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and

Abed-nego" (Dan 3:22) but had no power on the bodies of the godly (25).

Contrasting the fiery hail rained down upon Egypt with the manna that fire could not melt, the author of Wisdom sees in this similar case the general principle that "creation, serving thee its maker, exerts its power to punish the godless and relaxes into benevolence towards those who trust in thee" (16:24 NEB). Making use of this principle--the *lex talionis* or law of retribution²⁴ -- initiatory symbolism gives us the figure of the perfect man to whom fire is benevolent, like Moses, Elijah, and him "who shall dwell with the devouring fire" (Isa 33:14). It thus suggests the complementary image of the fiery place of perfection, as in Ezekiel's vision of the king of Tyre in the garden of God (28:12-15), which I quoted earlier. Moses proves his mastery of that element by taking on its nature, which though benevolent towards him, makes his people fearful: "behold, the skin of his face shone; and they were afraid to come nigh him" (Ex 34:30).²⁵ Though the summit of Sinai is no garden, it is analogous to Ezekiel's garden of God: on that mountain the seventy elders ate and drank in the fiery presence and saw the jeweled floor of heaven (Ex 24:9-11); their theophany, like later divine visions granted to the righteous, is the benevolent aspect of what appears to the people below as perfect terror.

From the point of view I have been developing, the terror-struck Israelites below are not simply mistaken in what they see and feel. Their terror, as the author of Wisdom suggests, originates in what one might call their spiritual condition, which the talion law describes in legal terms. Throughout the Bible all theophanic agents are ambiguous; what happens depends on the nature or condition of those subjected to judgment. The biblical word for the survivors

of judgment, those who are judged or made pure, is "remnant," that is, the ones who *remain* to continue the quest. We may extend this useful term to the individual and thus speak of his "remnant," the part of him analogous to the alchemist's gold. In metallurgical language, the others are the "dross" that the Lord purges away (cf. Isa 1:25), or the impure metal that men despise and therefore reject (cf. Jer 6:30).

The ambiguity of the furnace image and its fire similarly depends on the condition of those to whom the ordeal is applied. As we saw with the citizens of demonic cities, to the dissolute the furnace is a place of dissolution, hence analogous to chaos. To the pure imprisoned in such places, it is or can become the means of release, a place where such 'metal' achieves, or recovers, or maintains its purity, as with the three children in Nebuchadnezzar's furnace. In its apocalyptic form, with nothing left to purge away, the furnace becomes potentially a metaphor of paradise, the place of the shamanic *homo religiosus* and master of fire, like the legendary king who "walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire" (Ezek 28:14), or like those who walked with the eternal presence in the form of a pillar of fire (Ex 13:21; cf. Isa 4:4-5). The furnace, however, is also an image of the depths of the mine, that is, the womb of the Earth Mother, suggesting that the Promised Land is at least potentially subterranean and uterine and that it is reached by a catabasis, as in Homer and Virgil.²⁶

It seems likely that because of its associations with the Earth Mothers of the competing religions, the idea of an underground paradise in the Bible is very rare, but it is not totally absent. Job's analogy between the miner's

explorations and God's discovery of wisdom brings up the image of a chthonic place of perfection: "The stones of it are the place of sapphires: and it hath dust of gold" (28:6). Now it is true that the point of the passage is to contrast God's creative activity with the miner's uncovering and bringing to the surface of these perfect stones, but the telluric womb in this passage is no Sheol, and the image of the quest for wisdom ending in such a place remains. Further light is cast on this kind of 'paradise'²⁷--which, after all, means an *enclosed* garden--by the curious characterization of the Promised Land in Deuteronomy: "a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass" (8:9).²⁸ The reader will recall that the whole natural order is potentially a containing structure (like the paradisal cave) in which man is both nurtured and trapped, and so when the Promised Land is identified with that order--when in the Bible a chthonic paradise begins to take shape--what was a Promised Land becomes a place to be liberated from, in effect another Egypt.

The reader may recall that since Yahweh is miner, fire, and smith, the corresponding acts of separation (ores from the earth, metal from the dross, purified metal from the furnace) are metaphorically the same. This identification allows us to see in the various allusions to the metallurgical process a common pattern, which the symbolism long ago apparently borrowed from the process of birth. This is the pattern or rhythm of emergence: Lot from burning Sodom; Israel out of the "furnace of iron," and "through fire and water...into a wealthy place" (Ps 66:12);²⁹ Moses and the word out of the Sinaitic firestorm; the prophetic word out of the purged lips of Isaiah (6:6-7); Elijah from a demonic Israel up to Heaven in a fiery chariot-whirlwind (2

Kings 2:11); the three holy children out of the fiery furnace (Dan 3:26); and so forth. Occasionally, application of the metaphors is completely explicit, especially when the initiatory function of suffering is tied to the smelting action within the furnace, as in Proverbs: "The fining pot is for silver, and the furnace for gold: but the Lord trieth the hearts" (17:3; cf. Eccles 2:5). The Psalmist similarly prays for and testifies to the same treatment by fire when he calls out, "Judge me, O Lord....Examine me...and prove me; try my reins [Heb *kelayoth*, kidneys] and my heart" (26:1-2; cf. 17:3); in both these quotations the verb "try" (Heb *tsaraph*) suggests the refining of metal (BDBG). Note that the extensive biblical theme of trial and temptation is thus linked to an initiatory and specifically metallurgical symbolism.

According to the Psalmist, the whole exodus reveals the divine smelter at work. Here is the larger context of a passage just quoted (in both cases "tried" translates *tsaraph*):

He turned the sea into dry land: they went through the flood on foot....For thou, O God, hast proved us: thou hast tried us, as silver is tried...we went through fire and through water: but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place (66:6,10,12).

Job's sufferings are cast in parallel terms. He questions the Lord's metallurgical trial of him at "every moment" (7:18; Dhorme, 109), and later expresses confidence that "when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold" (23:10). One wonders at this point if the Lord's spoliation of the Egyptians ("He brought them forth also with silver and gold," Ps 105:37) expresses the same operation, though in an externalized form. In any case, the Prophets play upon the metaphor in several places, as in Isaiah:

Howl ye; for the day of the Lord is at hand....Therefore shall all hands be faint, and every man's heart shall melt: And they shall be afraid...their faces shall be as flames....I will make a man more precious than fine gold; even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir....And Babylon...shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah (13:6,8,12,19).

The same fiery redemption will be given the Lord's remnant in Zechariah: "I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried" (13:9); and in Malachi, the Lord "like a refiner's fire" shall purify his chosen "as gold and silver" (3:2-3). All these examples clarify the image of the powerful smith, whom Yahweh assimilated, or as Isaiah put it, whom the Lord created (54:16).

III.

The metaphors of emergence from the refiner's fire return us finally to their conceptual if not historical original, the process of gestation and birth. I noted earlier the intense sexualization of primitive agriculture and metallurgy and the particular importance of the anthropomorphic womb or belly as a metaphor of the place of developmental containment out of which Israel must break forth in order to be born a nation. It remains to examine the Red Sea passage in terms of birth symbolism. With this I will conclude my study of the Egyptian phase of the exodus, noting that the Wilderness phase follows the Egyptian analogously as for the newborn infant the nourishing breast follows the imprisoning womb.

Let us begin the examination of obstetrical metaphors with Eliade's warning in mind:

The initiatory new birth is not natural, though it is sometimes expressed in obstetric symbols....[It] does not repeat the first, biological birth. To attain the initiate's mode of being demands knowing realities that are not a part of nature but of the biography of the Supernatural Beings, hence of the sacred history preserved in myths (*Birth and Rebirth*, xiv).

We saw earlier that the Creator is he who controls the waters, which in the two creation accounts of Genesis means an initial act of separation or confinement followed by a controlled release; but we also saw that these two events can be considered different aspects of the same creative activity, hence each separable from the sequence and complete in itself. As the controlled release of (life-giving) water befits the creator in a dry Wilderness, so the confinement of (chaotic and deadly) water manifests him in the Red Sea, which is elsewhere identified with Egypt, because it is there that Egyptian nature is most clearly revealed. I would first like to consider the creative imprisonment of water appropriate to Egypt and then go on to examine the sequence of confinement and release in relation to Israel's exodus into the Wilderness.

When Jesus quiets the stormy Galilean sea he is manifesting identity with the cosmic creator, who in Job "shut up the sea within doors, when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb" (38:8)--where what is being born is clearly creation's enemy--and with the God of the Red Sea passage. By the principle of metaphor Egypt is Pharaoh and he, in the eyes of the Hebrews, the archetypal monster amidst his waters, who is himself the raging sea (cf. Ezek

29:3; Isa 51:9-10; Ps 89:10). In the Psalms, for example, the enemy of God's chosen can be "floods of ungodly men" (Ps 18:4) or simply the many waters whose voice or noise the Lord overpowers (Ps 93:3f). This cacophony appears to be the watery analogue of the deceitful, ultimately unintelligible babble of the ungodly, as suggested in Psalm 114:1, where the Egyptians are literally described as "a people talking unintelligibly" (A. A. Anderson, 2:783). The opposite of this unharmonious noise from the abyss is the praise sung by the righteous, their response to the creative and redemptive word of God, the word which defeats the waters of chaos. The Red Sea crossing is thus reflected in the Psalms as the Lord's victory over the noisy waters, which he binds or defeats, or even converts into singing the praises of his miraculous handiwork (e.g., Pss 96:11; 98:7-8). He is imaged as enthroned over the flood (e.g., Pss 29:10; 46; 93; 96), which suggests again the world-mountain archetype and so perhaps also the intended symbolism of the ark in the desert tabernacle. The mountain, with its cosmic temple at the summit, and the ark of the covenant are both images of the world redeemed from the undifferentiated waters of chaos that surge and roar from below: "The floods have lifted up, O Lord, the floods have lifted up their voice....The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters" (Ps 93:3-4).

In the Akkadian creation epic, Marduk, the creator, having defeated Tiamat, the monster of the bitter waters, makes the world out of her dismembered body (cf. *ANET*, 60-8). We have just seen that the two-part biblical creation story contains a parallel sequence--a confinement of watery chaos followed by a nourishing release of water--which also appears in the exodus from watery Egypt into the dry Wilderness, where God provides water from the rock and

manna from heaven. In the Psalms God is also the refuge against the waters that roar and the source of the waters that delight (cf. Ps 46:3,4); the one who stills the noise of the seas and enriches the earth with his river (65:7,9); and, in language reminiscent of the Babylonian story, the one who "breakest the heads of leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness" (74:14).³⁰ The water of life thus released is obviously based on life-giving rain and on water from other desert sources, but as a metaphor it is clearly much more than that, something like life-energy as liquid nourishment, and so metaphorically identical to all kinds of food.³¹ Once again we are dealing with metaphors of the downpouring love of God, and the likeness of his glory to the light of the sun suggests that the release of light from the confines of darkness--light which nourishes man in the widest sense--is an expression of the same creative act that we have discovered in the water imagery.

The metaphorical sequence formed by the control and release of waters would appear to be connected with the physical birth process, in the sense that the infant's delivery from the womb can be considered a defeat or control of the uterine waters, from which the newly-born arises to the flowing breast. We know from the account of childbirth in Ex 1:16 that it was done vertically,³² so that at birth as well as later, during nursing, the womb would be literally below and the breast above, and Moses' blessing of Joseph (according to one reading at least) suggests the cosmological projection of this posture: he shall be blessed "with the blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts, and of the womb" (Gen 49:25).³³ The shadowy presence of a macranthropic female being, from which the earth

comes forth in Ps 90:2 and the sea bursts forth in Job 38:8,³⁴ is certainly in keeping with agricultural and metallurgical symbolism we have examined.

We have seen that Egypt--and by metaphorical extension all demonic kingdoms, or the world itself as demonic kingdom--is a type of the watery and subterranean womb-belly that is also a tomb. In such a scenario God becomes both the midwife who delivers and the father who acknowledges the newborn his own, and gives him back to the mother on his own terms; the Psalmist declares, "You drew me from the womb, made me secure at my mother's breast" (Ps 22:10 JPSA/W).³⁵ Elsewhere God is he "that took me out of my mother's bowels" (71:6), he who "brought me forth out of the womb" (Job 10:18), and, throughout, the opener and closer of wombs (e.g., Gen 29:31; 1 Sam 1:5; etc.). Israel is restrained by the maternal Egypt, but when the prisoner of the womb is an individual, then the repressive force may be within the individual himself, manifesting itself as a refusal to be born. This is Jonah's case: he cannot flee the demonic kingdom, of which the monstrous fish's belly-womb (Heb. *beten*) is a variant expression, except by facing it on God's terms. Similarly, Ephraim's sins in Hosea are figured in a refusal to be born: "The pangs of childbirth come for him, but he is an unwise son; for now he does not present himself at the mouth of the womb" (13:13 RSV).³⁶ In any case, God is the deliverer.

The movement from womb to breast in the exodus is most clearly expressed in Isaiah, where the final deliverance of Israel is envisioned as the instantaneous conception, deliverance, and breast-feeding of an infant (66:5ff). The world-mountain becomes in his vision the breast it formally

resembles, flowing with the milk of Paradise, a theme found also in Joel 3:18 and Ezek 47 and anticipated by the water, honey, and oil of the Wilderness "rock in Horeb" (Ex 17:6; Deut 32:13)--all forms of the 'water' of life. The same movement, though not precisely the same image, occurs in the primary exodus narrative as well. I mentioned earlier in a somewhat different context that the newborn Moses is placed on the Nile, suggesting a return to the womb preparatory to his birth-adoption, and that his name is a pun in Hebrew, taken to mean "the one who is drawn out" or "the one who draws out," for just as he is drawn out of the Nile and immediately given the maternal breast (Ex 2:1-10), so in a second birth he draws his people out of the maternal waters at the Red Sea (cf. Isa 63:11) and leads them to the nourishing rock in the Wilderness (Deut 32:13). Basically the same movement is repeated at the other end of the Wilderness, when Israel rises up out of the waters of the Jordan to inhabit the land of milk and honey--an image whose antitype is Isaiah's breast-mountain of Zion.

The prominence of the generative metaphors and the nature of agricultural symbolism would lead us to expect human birth to be discussed in these terms, as an arising out of water or earth. Isaiah, for example, refers to Israel as having "come forth out of the waters of Judah" (48:1).³⁷ Similarly, in Genesis man is made out of the soil (2:7; cf. Voegelin, 170f), or as the Psalmist puts it, he is "made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth" (139:15),³⁸ so that like the other living creatures the earth is commanded to bring forth (Gen 1:24), man is thought in metaphor as springing plant-like from the common matrix. In the beginning God commands the earth to bring forth all vegetative abundance (Gen 1:11), whose subsequent emergence

re-enacts the original event: "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth" (Ps 104:14). The divine gift of this natural plenitude as food for the higher forms of life suggests, as I mentioned before, the resurrection imagery of the harvest and so the analogy between gestation (the seed in the matrix) and digestion (the food in the belly). This is perhaps implicit in the Hebrew word *beten* (womb, belly), whose ambiguity the story of Jonah plays upon. On the cosmological level, God's creation of ice, seas, mountains, and stars-- which may be considered births out of some shadowy macranthropic female³⁹-- resonates with the first creation account, where the brooding spirit of God quickens the formless waters, and the infant world arises out of a womb-like chaos.⁴⁰

(Though the female role here and elsewhere in the Bible has been radically attenuated, nevertheless the metaphorical pattern remains, and these morphological parallels are what I seek. At the same time we need to recognize the actual and potential effects of the attenuation: though no numinous female hypostasis is present in the Bible, no Tiamat to oppose the heavenly Marduk, her 'outline' or 'shadow' remains, and from the purely biblical perspective any who assume that outline must be demonic, as in the Great Whore of Revelation, the personified heathen kingdoms thought to be divine.)

Like the springing forth of plants, the coming forth of light out of darkness within the daily and seasonal cycles, "as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber" (Ps 19:5), resonates with the original cosmic enlightenment and with the eschatological dawning of the redeemer's glory (Isa 60:1). His light

dawns on a fallen world whose likeness to Sheol is manifested in the metaphor of the demonic kingdoms and the sorrow they inflict on godly men. Liberation from them conforms to the birth movement I have been describing: Lot commanded to arise from Sodom and flee up into the mountain (Gen 19:17); Israel brought from the depths of Egypt to the Mountain of God; the nations delivered out of the mouth of Bel in Babylon, the universal grave of the slain (Jer 51:44); and the hungry and longing souls "Such as sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, being bound in affliction and iron" (Ps 107:10), redeemed from confinement and filled with goodness.

No demonic form of this metaphorical complex is directly provided in the Bible, whose sympathies are wholly on the side of the prisoners rather than their earthly wardens. The shape of demonic birth and release (i.e., escape) is very well defined, however, by the apocalyptic counterparts we have just surveyed, according to the principle--a commonplace since Augustine--that biblical evil is simply a parody or perversion of the good (cf. Revard, 39-42). I mention the problem because in the second half of this work I will be concerned precisely with the reverse application or parody of these apocalyptic metaphors in the demonic 'exodus' of Milton's Satan. The escape he supposes himself to make from God's Egyptian Hell involves more than a simple reversal, but more about that in the proper place.

IV.

Finally, a note on the Deluge. This motif provides a kind of typological bridge between the first creation account and the Red Sea liberation, for it is both the story of redemption from a demonic kingdom (the whole earth) and a

story of creation from the primordial waters. In Genesis the Deluge narrative is directly followed by the story of Babel, thus suggesting by juxtaposition the metaphorical equivalence of the formless waters and the confusion of tongues, or of the waters and the labyrinthine ruins of Babel, a correspondence that arises later between the waters of the Red Sea and the trackless, labyrinthine Wilderness. We have already noted with the Psalmist the link between formless waters and formless or confused speech, and in his metaphor of "the floods of ungodly men" (18:4) we also note the convergence of the roar of the "many waters" and the deceitful words of the enemy. Similarly, Isaiah interprets "the story of Noah as a type of Israel overwhelmed, as it were, in their captivity by the 'great floods' of Gentile oppression" (Hoskyns and Davey, 70). The image of the ark disgorging the seed of all future life, redeemed from the waters of chaos, onto the top of Ararat is thus itself a profound metaphor of the birth motif, and those sealed up within can perhaps be considered initiands undergoing a rite of passage into the recreated world.

I began this chapter with the promise that the common, perhaps even universal, structure of initiation would help reveal coherence in the Egyptian phase of the exodus. We have seen that according to the pattern of confinement and liberation I have derived, 'Egypt' (meaning all demonic kingdoms, including the fallen world as demonic kingdom) is primarily a place of transformation, wherein the initiand becomes a "chosen" people, changed by ordeal from a profane, chaotic thing of nature into "a being open to the life of the spirit" (Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, 3). The metaphors for this change come from parallel processes on all levels of the world: for the cosmic, the cosmogony; for animal life, impregnation, gestation, birth, and digestion; for

vegetable, the death and rebirth of seeds; for mineral life (this is a vision that embraces "living stones"), the mining and smelting of ores into "fine gold." However this may be, the reader will no doubt object to the evident idealization of the Egyptian phase based on the momentary, if incandescent, vision of the Song of the Sea: the nation that emerges onto the plain of the Wilderness is hardly perfect and takes almost no time to demonstrate its imperfections. What, we must wonder, happens to that momentary vision and to the light it casts on the journey of the Chosen People of God in the quite different terrain of the Wilderness? In what follows, aside from defining the Egyptian and Wilderness phases by contrast with each other, my principal task will be to answer that question by coming to understand how the entire exodus is contained in the recurrent moment of theophanic trial and judgment.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹ My summary of initiation is based chiefly on the following works by Eliade: *Birth and Rebirth*; *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, especially Chapter 9; and *Shamanism*. My discussion is indebted to these works throughout, and I will therefore cite them only for major points.

² For the elements of a shamanic initiation, see *Birth and Rebirth*, Chapter 5; *Shamanism*; and note 13, below. The mastery of fire seems to be a particularly characteristic sign, for which see *Shamanism*, 5; 315-6, n. 74; 335; 373; 474-7; and especially *Birth and Rebirth*, 85-7, and *The Forge and the Crucible*, Chapter 8. In the latter two works, mastery of fire is identified with the spiritual transformation imaged in metallurgical symbolism: the master of fire is the human analogue of the smith's refined metal.

³ The question of sexual symbolism in the religion of Israel is a complex one, for which see von Rad, who in *Old Testament Theology* argues that "Israel...could not regard sex as a sacral mystery" and that the "prophetic symbolisations" of sex in Hosea and Ezekiel are "demythologised survivals...of ideas which derived from Canaan" (1:27-8). Note that I am concerned with sexual metaphors, not sexual symbols in cultic practice.

⁴ I am reading Gen 1:6 in light of Job 38:8-11 and other passages in which the primeval waters are said to be thus bound or kept in bounds.

⁵ See *Patterns*, Chapters 8 and 9, from which the following has been largely taken.

⁶ *Patterns*, Chapter 7; *The Sacred and the Profane*, 17, 138-47; and Eliade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries*, 155-89.

⁷ Note, however, the opposing Egyptian traditions of Hathor, a great goddess who "is the face of the sky, the deep and the lady who dwells in a grove at the end of the world" (R. T. Rundle Clark, 87; cf. 88-9); and of Nut, who in the Pyramid Texts is called "O Great One who has become the sky" (49; cf. 45ff; Plate 3; 250). On Nut and the "almost unique case" of the sky-goddess, see Stadelmann, 57f.

⁸ See *Patterns*, Chapter 9; for the corresponding Roman symbolism and its cultural background, see Rykwert, 69, 126, 132-5.

⁹ *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries*, 183-9; *Patterns*, 341-7.

¹⁰ BDBG; see also Tromp, 66-9. As noted *bor* is one of the words used for Pharaoh's dungeon (Gen 40:15; cf. Ex 12:29); for the pit into which Jeremiah was lowered (37:16; 38:6; etc.); and for the prison of the kings of the earth in Isaiah's apocalypse (24:22). It is also a metaphor for the grave (Prov 28:17; Isa 14:19), and for a submarine place of confinement (Lam 3:53f), hence also for Sheol (Ps 28:1; 143:7; etc.). Note that *bor* is a figure for Sarah as mother of Israel in Isa 51:1, suggesting the potential identity of pit and womb.

¹¹ A traditional motif, for which most commentators cite the legend of Sargon; see ANET, 119, and Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 8-11. In the story of Moses the waters are merely those of the Nile, but I am taking them in the broader mythological context supplied by Ezek 29:3, etc., to which the present passage is linked by Ex 15:10. See Tromp, 59-66.

¹² "There is now a general consensus that the name is of Egyptian origin from the root *ms(w)* meaning to 'beget'" (Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 7; cf. 12). The ambiguous Hebrew meaning of "Moses" (Heb. *Moshe*) is pointed out

through a pun in Ex 2:10 (by which it is taken to mean 'the one drawn out') and in Isa 63:11 in the phrase *moshe 'ammo*, "he who brought up out of the sea [the shepherds of his flock]" (RSV), which may be read either as referring to Moses' rescue from the Nile ("the shepherd of his flock") or Israel's from the Red Sea by Moses' hand; see Westermann, *Isaiah* 40-66, 389. The verb *moshe* occurs also in Ps 18:16, for which see A. A. Anderson, 1:159.

13 Compare the structure of shamanic initiations as given in Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, 81-102, where Eliade uses "shaman" as a general term, including "the various categories of medicine men and wizards who flourish in other primitive societies" (87), in whose company I would place elements of Moses' characterization. To do so helps to establish the parallel between the pattern of Moses' experiences and those of Israel as a whole. One need not with Gressmann regard Moses as a magician or sorcerer in order to retain the insights afforded through the metaphorical complex of shamanism; on this issue, see Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 146. The shaman's initiation can include the following relevant elements: (1) a call or election; (2) both ecstatic instruction (vision) and traditional (magic techniques, names and functions of spirits, mythology); and (3) strange behaviour, including fits of fury and desire for solitude. Such initiation constitutes a psycho-physical crisis--"the agonizing news that he has been chosen by the gods" (*Birth and Rebirth*, 89)--from which he emerges, if at all, a transformed and powerful man (cf. *Shamanism*, Chapter 2).

14 Consider PL 7.120ff, where bounded knowledge recalls the bounds by which the world is created; and 50-3, where Adam in "deep Muse" echoes the "deep amaze" of the stars at the Incarnation in Milton's *Nativity Ode* (69). One might say that Adam is being both initiated by Raphael and prepared for the initiatory ordeal to come.

15 A common theme in the Prophets; see Isa 28:1ff; Hosea 6:1; and cf. the commentary on Hosea by Andersen and Freedman (418-20); and Thompson (2-4, 175-9), where he discusses Yahweh's absorption of Canaanite gods, including the god(s) of death. The agents of death, the heathen enemies, would thus be manifestations of Yahweh, whom the wicked would perceive as the God of Death; but it is important to realize that the biblical conception of God rules out a 'god of death' in any other sense.

16 Cf. Hosea 2:2 (JPSA/P; 1:11 in AV, RSV). In Ex 1:10 AV has "get them up out of the land"; RSV "escape from the land"; cf. Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 4-5. Considered metaphorically, 'arise from the ground' and 'escape from the land' are identical, but the former is certainly less rationalized and more vivid.

17 The following discussion of metallurgical symbolism depends largely on Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*.

18 Note Dahood's translation of Ps 110:2 ("he has forged your victorious mace, Yahweh of Zion has hammered it"), where God is the divine smith, in *Psalms* (3:112; 115 n.). Commenting on Ps 18:35 he notes the "motif of the divine forger of weapons" (1:115). Other versions of Ps 110:2 translate the verb "forged" (Heb. *shelach*) as "stretch forth," as noted by A. A. Anderson (2:769). In the Bible the smith appears in a figurative context in Isaiah, where with the carpenter he is a maker of idols (44:12), and he is a metaphor of human creativity that the prophet cites to reveal its inferior relation to and dependence on God's (54:16). The fact that he appears at all in these places perhaps attests to the smith's magico-religious function in the beliefs under attack. Lurker points out Tubal-Cain as the eponymous ancestor of smiths, and the etymology of "Cain," which means "smith" (274-5; cf. *BDBG*, 884, col. a). The mythology of the smith survives primarily in the

metallurgical metaphors themselves; the smith has not so much disappeared in the Bible as been thoroughly assimilated into God.

¹⁹ Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, 39-40, 80; Bachelard.

²⁰ The story of Sodom is told in Gen 18:16-19:29. Note the protracted emphasis on the separation of righteous from unrighteous in the prologue to the action (18:16-33); the comparison of the burning city to a furnace (19:28); and the curious summary at the end, which has Lot emerge from "the midst of the overthrow" (29) and thus clarifies one of the aspects of the story that I emphasize.

²¹ Compare the account in the apocryphal book of Wisdom (16:16ff). I have not hesitated, when it has suited my purposes, to read the Egyptian phase of the exodus from this author's point of view.

²² Ps 12:6; cf. 18:30; 119:140; Prov 30:5.

²³ Cf. Ps 46:6; Ex 15:15; Isa 14:31; Jer 23:29; see also Wisdom 3:6, and Winston (128), where parallels in Philo and Seneca are cited in addition to other biblical passages.

²⁴ Although the best known occurrence of the *lex talionis*, which I will henceforth call the 'talion law,' occurs in Ex 21:23ff ("And if any mischief follow, then thou shalt give life for life, Eye for eye, tooth for tooth"; cf. Lev 24:18ff; Deut 19:21), the law is worked out with greater imaginative power in Wisdom's commentary on the Exodus. For statements of the law in Wisdom, see 3:10 and 17:3, and esp. 11:16 ("by those things through which a man sins, through them is he punished," Winston). In *Old Testament Theology* von Rad discusses the principle of retribution in terms similar to those of nemesis, as a process, initiated by action, that inevitably returns its effects upon the actor unless God intervenes by removing "the baneful influence" of the act (1:271; 384-5). Since in the OT man cannot help but do evil, God's intervention thus redeems him from the Narcissus-world of automatic retribution in which he is otherwise trapped. Childs adds that when Jesus abrogates the talion law in Matt 5:38ff, he "cuts the ground out from all human law," which is essentially retributive (*The Book of Exodus*, 490).

On the talion law in Exodus, see Childs, 472-3, 490; in Wisdom, Winston, 232-3, 304-5; in Hebrew law and its Near Eastern antecedents, Preiser; Driver and Miles, 1:98, 111, 216, 281-2, 403-4, 407-8, 502; Cohn; and note Philo's defense of it in *De Specialibus Legibus* 3.33.181-3. None of these authors deals adequately with the imaginative implications, as Wisdom and Milton do brilliantly in their portraits of the consequences of evil. In the following chapters I relate the talion law to the echoing back of a quester's spiritual condition at a threshold of trial and judgment, hence to the self-reflective, 'gorgonian' vision of the godless wanderer; to the biblical principle by which the demonic is the agency of God by which the demonic is punished; and, more specifically, to the ways in which Satan in *Paradise Lost* comes to be subjugated to his own demonic projections.

²⁵ Note Childs' comment that "in 34.29 they are fearful before the mere reflection from Moses' face of the theophany" (*The Book of Exodus*, 618). "Reflection," I am suggesting, may not be quite the right word, but my point is much the same. Incandescence--fire as light without the destructive heat--is a common metaphor of divinity, as in the Transfiguration, where, as noted earlier, Moses and Elijah, both 'masters of fire,' appear with Jesus; compare Milton's "darkness visible" (PL 1.63) for the contrasting spiritual condition of Hell.

²⁶ 'Catabasis' is the standard romanization of the Gk. *kat^{ab}asis*, the term for an heroic descent into the underworld, such as is typified in *Odyssey* 11

and *Aeneid* 6. The term *nekyia* (Gk., 'necromancy') is also used, but it more properly refers to the rites performed during a descent rather than the descent itself (see *Ody* 11.23ff). For the catabasis motif see Raymond J. Clark. Winston recognizes this motif in the author of *Wisdom's* discussion of the plague of darkness (17:1-18:4; Winston, 304). See Knight, *Vergil*, for the theme of the subterranean paradise.

27 Dhorme notes that "[Targum] sees here the garden of Eden" (403).

28 Cf. 33:25, and von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 72-3.

29 Cf. *Isa* 43:2, and Whybray, 82.

30 See also *Pss* 63; 72; 92; 104; 114; 142; 147; etc.

31 One could add here the oil of anointment, for which see Onians, 103; 153, n. 1; 165; 188-9; 217; 229-32; 236-46. See also Lurker, 225-7; Keel, 256-8; William Robertson Smith, 232-3; 383-4; Kutsch.

32 For the birthstool, see Erman, 55; Keel, 201-2.

33 The effectiveness of the parallel between heaven/deep and breasts/womb depends on retaining the MT reading of 49:26 with AV, RSV, etc. See, however, Speiser, 369, where the parallel is less clear.

34 On *Pss* 90:2, see Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2:115, n. 1; on *Job* 38:8, Pope, *Job*, where he speaks of "an otherwise unknown motif, the birth of the sea god and the use of swaddling bands to restrain the violent infant" (251). The macranthropic mother is implied though not stated.

35 *AV* 22:9. The quoted version is close to the RSV, "thou didst keep me safe." *Vulg*, "*Spes mea ab uberibus matris meae*" (21:10), agrees with the LXX, and the AV is close, "thou didst make me hope." The version cited by Driver is the most kinetically vivid: "that hast laid me flat on my mother's breasts" (noted in "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets," 59).

36 The RSV follows substantially the more literal AV; see Andersen and Freedman, 638-9, and Mauchline, 713-14. JPSA/P has "For this is no time to survive / At the birthstool of babes." The image survives nonetheless.

37 AV, which agrees with the *Vulg* and JPSA/P. RSV emends "waters," which it recognizes as the literal meaning, to "loins," noted but not accepted by JPSA/P; cf. Whybray, 127, who finds "waters" to be "meaningless," and Westermann's "from the body (? from the loins) of Judah" (194).

38 See Hans-Joachim Kraus, 920; Tromp, who comments that "there cannot be the slightest doubt about the equation of the mother's womb and the depths of the nether world" (123); A. A. Anderson, who cites parallels in *Job* (1:21) and elsewhere and notes that this verse supports "the Mother Earth theory" (2:910).

39 See, for example, *Job* 38:8, 29; *Pss* 90:2; *Isa* 40:26. Commenting on the birth metaphor in *Pss* 90:2, A. A. Anderson notes that the subject of the verse "may be the earth, and not Yahweh, rendering: 'before the earth and the world were in travail (bringing forth the hills)'." He cites *Deut* 32:18, where Yahweh is "the Rock that begat thee," but thinks it more likely that "although ultimately Yahweh is behind this process of the bringing forth of the mountains...the immediate 'agent' is the earth" (2:650).

40 On the maternity of water, see Eliade, *Patterns*, Chapter 5; Briffault, 2:670-3; cf. 664-9.

Chapter 3: Wilderness

Emergence from Egypt brings Israel out onto the plane of the Wilderness and back into the time and space of ordinary existence after the apocalyptic illumination at the eastern shore of the Red Sea. In the verse immediately following Miriam's celebratory song "with timbrels and with dances" (Ex 15:20-1), the vision has vanished without a trace, except for the changed conditions of Israel's quest. "So Moses brought Israel from the Red Sea," comments the biblical author laconically, "and they went out into the wilderness of Shur; and they went three days in the wilderness, and found no water" (Ex 15:22). From the apocalyptic water-crossing out of Egypt those changed conditions prevail in a metaphorical landscape I will call simply 'the Wilderness,' until the second water-crossing into Canaan brings about another shift or reordering of vision. Because the Bible has the structure it does, however, the Wilderness metaphor is not confined to the primary narrative in Exodus and Numbers, but assimilates the allied images of wandering, confusion, desolation, and so forth, found throughout the biblical text. As with Egypt in the last chapter, my investigation into the Wilderness metaphor will consequently extend across the Old Testament. My initial aim will be to define 'the Wilderness,' to show how it is different from Egypt.¹ Then, and then only, can the common origin of both metaphors in the biblical archetype be understood.

In some fundamental ways Egypt and the Wilderness are identical: both, for example, are places of vertical intervention, and in both the godly are rewarded and the ungodly punished; but in the Wilderness considerable emphasis is placed on horizontal movement and hence, we will see, on human choice. Even when it is idealized as a place of purifying isolation and closeness to God,² it is not the scene of an eternal rest. Neither is it a place of fixity for the godless, but a world that reflects their mental confusion in a pointless and endless wandering. Like the nomadic existence it at best tolerates, the Wilderness is essentially unstable and fluid, hence sometimes perilously close and sometimes identical to chaos. In its simplest form it is a place between Egypt and the Promised Land; it must be passed through; and some get through it while others do not. From these facts follow its primary characteristics--it is intermediate, horizontal, and conditional--and from them in turn its principal metaphor or metaphorical complex, the labyrinth.³

At the Red Sea, where it is a type of the ruined kingdom, Egypt also has labyrinthine aspects, but its dominant relation to the labyrinth is as the kernel from which the Wilderness leads. Thus we can see Joseph's descent from his paternal land into Egypt as a kind of catabasis through a desert labyrinth into its core, where the ordeal takes place, and Israel's confused migration outward towards the Promised Land as the more difficult egress back through the windings of the labyrinth to a new freedom. The Sibyl's words to Aeneas apply: descent into the lower world is easy; the difficult part is getting out.

I mentioned earlier that instability is characteristic of the exodus landscape as a whole, and that it is subject to radical rearrangement at moments of crisis and to multiple perspectives. This is especially true of the Wilderness. Thus when the vision at the Red Sea vanishes from the narrative present, with it goes the image of a labyrinth opening out from its vanquished demonic kernel; instead the Wilderness appears now in the form of a labyrinth at whose distant kernel lies the fulfillment of what was glimpsed at the Sea. (The fact that Canaan is another demonic stronghold to be conquered points the symmetry.) Both images run into trouble if we imagine the labyrinth as an architectural structure or in terms of its usual graphic representation (a winding path that surrounds some central space), since with a few exceptions the landscape of the exodus is not like that. The usual representation, however, is really a special case of a more inclusive notion. Essentially, a labyrinth is a kind of horizontally extended gate, or in Gertrude Rachel Levy's words, a "winding path of conditional entry" (157; see 247ff), and one that need not have a predefined shape. According to W. F. Jackson Knight, its "primary and essential quality is the power to obstruct entry, but also to allow it on proper terms" (*Vergil*, 192 and *passim*). For Israel these terms are defined by the Law, and God's condition for entry, spoken on the verge of the Wilderness, is "whether they will walk in my law, or no" (Ex 16:4; etc.).

^W/_{hat}, then, is the biblical Wilderness when viewed according to the teleological paradigm I have just very briefly indicated? As we will see, it is many different things. It is a spatially dynamic form of the initiatory ordeal suffered in Egypt, though the difference in its focus expresses a typological development. It is a place both of divine guidance and, that

forfeit, of mortal wandering without purpose or direction. It is an image of the wanderers' own confusion, as I just said, but it is also an image of their gradual development through various kinds of purgation. It is a pathway punctuated by a series of theophanic judgments in each of which the godless are separated from the godly. These 'moments of conditional entry' or 'threshold events,' as they could be called, with the circumstances leading up to them, are thus each a microcosm of the Wilderness itself, just as a single bend in the turnings of a labyrinth expresses an essential fact about the whole. Labyrinths are also, however, tests of endurance, of strength in time and through space, as is the Wilderness. God's question, "whether they will walk in my law, or no" is consequently not a statement of divine ignorance (even the reader knows what will happen) but something like a tentative framework within which genuine choice is possible.

Labyrinths generally are of two types: either unicursal, with one winding but uninterrupted path from entrance to nucleus; or multicursal, with a path that frequently divides and thus demands a choice of directions.⁴ The Wilderness is both. It is multicursal in its multiplicity of threshold events, its series of choices and judgments. It is unicursal to express the consequences of judgment once choice has been made. The historical path of the remnant through the Wilderness is by definition unicursal; however crooked the world, it is 'the way of the Lord' and in that sense straight (cf. Ps 5:8). Hence the unicursal path is related to the way without turns or deviations (Isa 40:4; 45:2), and 'to turn aside' from the unbending path a metaphor of wrong choice (Josh 1:7). The labyrinth is in that case an image of entanglement and confusion: if multicursal, the many choices amount to

bewilderment; if unicursal, the inevitability of its path expresses the fatal consequence of the choice to turn aside.

I.

The problem of defining the Wilderness is in part literally a question of its boundaries: what happens in the transitions from Egypt to Wilderness, and from Wilderness to Canaan? This will turn out to be a recurrent question to which we will have to make several different approaches, but it is also a good place to begin detailed consideration of the middle ground in the exodus. Rather than belabour the events of Israel's flight from Egypt, I will clarify the first transition by examining a parallel metamorphosis in the story of the Tower of Babel, in which the labyrinth imagery I am interested in pursuing reveals some essential facts about the Wilderness. To clarify the second transition, I will discuss the story of Jericho, in which the Israelite assault on the whole Promised Land has been given a concentrated expression, and there, too, we will find labyrinth imagery in a particularly helpful form.

In his commentary on Genesis, E. A. Speiser notes that the story of the Tower of Babel is "exceptionally significant" for its authentic and critically independent handling of the Babylonian background it sketches (75). What the biblical author has so accurately sketched is a stepped temple-tower (or 'ziggurat,' as it is now known), designed to represent the world-mountain of Babylonian cosmology and to furnish its builders with a passageway into and out from the realm of the gods, which it is supposed to meet in the shrine at the summit of its winding path.⁵ Levy points out that the ziggurat "was thus

conceived as a kind of Jacob's ladder whose pathways were external, a stairway later mounting in a spiral from stage to stage" (169) and thereby draws our attention to its apocalyptic counterpart in the Bible. Like all parody demonic structures, its appearance at first deceives until God reveals its true nature: what seemed to the god's people a vortex of binding, sustaining energy (cf. Gen 11:4)--thus parodying Jacob's "ladder" at a place he calls "the gate of Heaven" (28:17)--suddenly becomes a whorl of demonic confusion and dissolution. As in the transition from Egypt to the Wilderness, we witness the shift, brought about by divine judgment, from an urban stronghold with claims on the divine realm to a state analogous to cosmological chaos. Joseph's labyrinth of entry and Israel's labyrinth of egress correspond in several essential respects to this pattern of centripetal gathering and centrifugal scattering.

What makes the ziggurat particularly interesting for my purposes is that its parody demonic form applies even more cogently to the Wilderness as a labyrinthine gateway to the Promised Land: a winding pathway of approach (conditional on the gods' cooperation) to a *temenos* where contact with the divine life is secured. The biblical author's point implies that the resemblance is false, but it is not irrelevant. In his view the ziggurat begins in an anxious and aggressive desire to penetrate Heaven and secure its benefits; it manifests an energy originating from below and takes shape in a fixed and solid monument. In contrast, the Wilderness contains no such permanent guarantees of contact, nothing to hang on to: Sinai, for example, serves its purpose and is left behind, and the only enduring sacred object is the nomadic ark in its tabernacle of skins, where God appears in his chosen

kairoi. Like Jacob's apocalyptic ziggurat, which is glimpsed in a dream at an unexpected time and place, the primary metaphor of divine contact in the Wilderness--the pillar of fire and cloud--expresses an energy and an initiative originating from above. When it moves, the Israelites move in response; when it stops, they stop (Ex 40:36-7).

The ziggurat at Babel is, then, a centripetal spiral of seeming approach to the sacred that becomes a centrifugal image of dissolution and chaos, and an apparent ascent that is in reality a descent. Like Jacob's ziggurat and the Wilderness pillar of fire and cloud, the demonic temple-tower associates the progress or continuance of life on the horizontal plane with a vertical axis of guidance or direction. In most forms of the classical labyrinth myth, for example, successful completion of the journey (which is identified with the liberation of trapped life) is effected by means of a clue, in Theseus' case a ball of thread, without which death is certain. Several aspects of the classical story and its later homologues suggest that the clue is essentially a metaphor of guidance from above,⁶ and it is worth quoting George Herbert to see how obvious this point can be. In "The Pearl," after rejecting the delusions of learning, honour, and pleasure (forms, I would say, of the Wilderness), the poet declares,

Yet through these labyrinths, not my groveling wit,
 But thy silk twist let down from heav'n to me,
 Did both conduct and teach me, how by it
 To climbe to thee. (37-40)

My point here is that the pillar of fire and cloud is such a clue, which like

Herbert's "silk twist" is the inherent vertical element in the labyrinth, but it is not in itself what the wanderer 'climbs.' His climbing is in the horizontal realm of time and space. Thus Jacob's "ladder" occurs in a visionary dream, and thus the Tower of Babel is demonic and to its biblical author entirely ridiculous.

At the other end of the desert wanderings is another demonic stronghold, the city of Jericho, whose claims on Heaven are sufficiently expressed by its location in the Promised Land--or Canaan, as that land is known in one of its forms. Jericho, the biblical Troy, I take to be a microcosm of Canaan itself: an ancient oasis, but more specifically a labyrinthine, plutonian kingdom from which trapped life must be redeemed,⁷ and a prophetic emblem of the state to which the Promised Land will all too quickly revert. Israel's entry into the Promised Land thus begins in a kind of catabasis according to the ancient pattern--a westward entry into a land of the dead, a miraculous water-crossing, a harrowing, and an abduction of a whore⁸--which, like Theseus' descent, ends in the opening up of new life.

The story of entry into Jericho is twice told, the first time about the spies who contact Rahab (Josh 2:1-22), and the second about the whole of Israel, by whom she is rescued (6:1-25). In addition to its military function, the sending of the spies connects this pair of stories with the earlier spying of the Promised Land (in which Joshua was also present), and thus suggests that the Rahab of the later invasion corresponds to the fruitful abundance brought back by the spies of the first--but more about that crucial incident later. As Daniélou points out, Rahab is the only element in the story of

Joshua to appear in the great haggadah of Hebrews (11:31), and in patristic typology she becomes a primary figure for humanity redeemed from the thralldom of the world by Christ's passion, as the fall of Jericho is a type of the Apocalypse (*From Shadows to Reality*, 244-60, 276-86). She is the only one in Jericho not 'melted' by the word of the Lord's coming or affected by the general faintness, confusion, and paralysis that, as will appear, are expressions of the labyrinth image. Her harlotry makes her one of the redeemed whores in the Bible; the desolation normally associated with spiritual whoredom not only reflects that of Jericho as a whole, but also establishes the significance of her redemption. She is drawn out of a state and place of desolation to become a great ancestress in the lineage of Israel, and at least on one level the statement that "she dwelleth in Israel even unto this day" (6:25) is to be taken quite literally as showing her to be a metaphor of redeemed life. Matthew places her in Jesus' lineage (1:5), Daniélou suggests, as "a type of the pagans whom Christ came to save," hence a type of the church (*From Shadows to Reality*, 245). Morphologically, she is to Jericho as Helen is to Troy and Ariadne to the labyrinth: all three are 'openers' of otherwise impenetrable or inextricable enclosures and, I would argue, historicized forms of the earth goddess, whose body is the labyrinthine enclosure of which she is portress.⁹

Like Troy Jericho is a "shut" city (6:1); like Helen Rahab is a whore. Rahab's name, which signifies 'dilation' or 'an open place,'¹⁰ may refer to her occupation, but it also fits the contrast between her able decisiveness and the confused paralysis of her fellow citizens: she is the only one 'open' to Israel in a place otherwise shut up against them, and the only one released

from self-confinement to the freedom of unlimited life. Her name, that is, expresses the meaning of redeemed whoredom. In contrast, the binding up of Jericho expresses its demonic nature. It corresponds negatively to the sealing up of a sacred place, such as Troy in the Roman tradition and, perhaps, Jerusalem;¹¹ and positively to the constriction and blockage that elsewhere mirror the inner state of the wicked,¹² and to the constrictiveness of Leviathan, the monster of demonic containment, kin of Perseus' sea monster and theriomorphic labyrinth, whose "scales are his pride, shut up together as if with a close seal" (Job 41:15-17). The constriction of Jericho has, however, a positive significance; in conjunction with the subsequent unbinding of the city it marks the familiar pattern of a biblical cosmogony: first a binding up of the chaotic powers, then a release of a quickening principle, in this case signified by Rahab.

In each of the two halves of the Jericho narrative, a clue occurs: first in the cord by which the spies escape out of Rahab's window (the only opening), and second in the scarlet thread by figurative means of which she and her family escape. Later Christian tradition took this thread to be the type of Christ's blood, and found within the Old Testament the primary allusion to be to the blood on the lintel at Passover (the blood sacrifice of initiatory passage out of Egypt), whose primary New Testament antitype is, of course, the crucifixion.¹³ In all three instances, the 'clue' provides the way of escape from an implicitly labyrinthine lower world.

The ritual circumambulation of Jericho contributes additional evidence to the identity of the city as an urban labyrinth, like Troy.¹⁴ It is quite clearly a variation on the ancient rites of urban destruction, well known to classical poets and soldiers alike, by which a city was symbolically unmade or disestablished in a reversal of the cosmogonic act through which it originally acquired its sacredness, its definition as an *urbs*.¹⁵ The building tension of the seven days' ritual can almost be felt, "the whole spring-like tension of conditional entry--the recoil to gather power," as Levy has said (159). Throughout its enactment, the rhythmic unwinding of the defenses of Jericho (preceded by the parallel 'melting' of its citizens' hearts) is accompanied by the monotone of the ram's horn, so that like the walls of Troy and of Thebes, those of Jericho become "controlled by the sound and movement of a dance" (Levy, 250).¹⁶ It is tempting to see in the resonant energy of that monotone, shaped by the unwinding spiral of the ram's horn, the same releasing power invoked through the grosser movement of Israel's circumambulation. The multiple reference to the number seven (days, circuits, horns) suggests a connection between Jericho and the primeval chaos over which victory is celebrated on the seventh day of final peace. In effect, the circumambulation of Jericho is a decreation of a parody demonic order concealing a desolate ruin, and therefore a creative act that recapitulates the cosmogony. The slaughter of its denizens--"both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass" (Josh 6:21)--thus corresponds to cosmogonic blood sacrifice.

As a commentary on the Wilderness, the Jericho story reveals its apocalyptic form, just as the Song of the Sea reveals 'what really happened' in the Egyptian phase of the exodus. Thus in the first[#]telling of the

Wilderness story only a remnant survives the confused wanderings of a weak and disobedient nation, whose one attempt to enter their Promised Land ends in utter failure. In the Jericho narrative, however, the focused power of obedient Israel's circumambulation topples the barrier of Jericho as easily as God's word had 'melted' the resistance of its inhabitants.

II.

Prior to the historical narrative of the conquest of Jericho, Deuteronomy makes the conditional nature of the Wilderness wandering very clear, and thus begins the explicit process of reflecting on, recasting, and deepening the complex of images identified with the trackless waste between Egypt and Canaan. Careful studies of the various Hebrew words for this complex--which, I said earlier, I silently assimilate to 'the Wilderness'--show how the desert of Exodus and Numbers becomes identified with inherited mythological motifs, especially in the Psalms and Prophets (Talmon; Mauser, 15-52). My interests, however, are not in the historical development of the Wilderness idea or ideas. I begin with the assumption of a coherent metaphorical complex and in what follows will render an account of its principal characteristics as the various terms used to describe it will allow.¹⁷

Throughout the Egyptian phase of the exodus very little is said about movement across a landscape. Except for the journey of Joseph and his tribe into Egypt (part of a prior Wilderness journey, I have suggested) the only significant movements are Moses' escape to and return from Horeb (Heb. *choreb*, waste, desert), and the flight of Israel to the Red Sea. The first is

identified primarily with the Wilderness phase, as the name and the association with Sinai make obvious, and the second is a flight out of Egypt. Thus Egypt is primarily a "house of bondage," a place of confinement and transformation, unlike the Wilderness, whose horizontal component is very prominent. As I have proposed, this horizontal Wilderness wandering is a series of theophanic intersections, of moments loosely strung together with regard for their relation to the vertical. Nevertheless, one cannot wander except through a landscape or other horizontal domain, and the wealth of geographical details in the narrative establishes this unique emphasis beyond question. The Israelites wander in Canaan also, but only when it has become, in effect, another Wilderness. The relationship between them is far from simple, as we will see.

By 'horizontal' I mean, as before, the domain of human life moving with apparent continuity from past to future, which in the Bible is expressed (and undermined) in the geography of the Wilderness and other related wanderings, in the genealogy of the tribes,¹⁸ and in the wide-ranging metaphor of the 'path' or 'way.' I will not be concerned with biblical genealogy except to observe with Frye a recurrent theme, by which the divine perspective on human continuity is emphasized: "the passing over of the firstborn son, who normally has the legal right of primogeniture, in favor of a younger one" (*The Great Code*, 180), as in the story of Jacob and Esau. As for the metaphor of the 'way' and the related ideas of stepping or walking on a path, though knowledge of the words involved may be incomplete,¹⁹ even a preliminary survey reveals the fundamental notion of the metaphorical path as both course of life and conduct, and the equally basic dialectic between walking before God in the

path of righteousness and turning aside into the crooked paths that lead into or are the lower world. A few random examples should suffice.

The righteousness of the patriarchs is summed up by saying that they "walked with God" (Gen 5:22; 6:9), obeying the universal command given to Abraham, "walk before me, and be thou perfect" (17:1). Later, Moses expresses the essence of the Law in the same terms, warning the people against those who would "thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in" (Deut 13:5), just as God declares that the purpose of the manna is to discover "whether they will walk in my law, or no" (Ex 16:4). To turn aside from this path is, I suggested, to become entangled in ways whose characteristics are those of the lower world: crooked, dark, slippery, hedged about with hostile plants, animals, or, as in an architectural labyrinth, with hewn stone (Cf. Lam 3:2ff; Prov 2:13,15; Ps 35:3; Job 19:8). Often the context is quite clearly that of the trackless Wilderness, as in Job's description of deceitful friends, who are like the brook in the dry land: "The paths of their way are turned aside; they go to nothing, and perish" (6:18). Isaiah's lament for the sinful Jews combines both the imagery of the labyrinth and that of the desolate waste:

Their feet run to evil...wasting and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not; and there is no judgment in their goings: they have made them crooked paths: whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace. Therefore is judgment far from us...we wait for light, but behold obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness. We grope for the wall like the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes: we stumble at noonday as in the night; we are in desolate places as dead men. We roar all like bears....(59:7-11)

Much of the significance of this passage will be relevant in what follows, but it should be immediately clear that the dialectic of upper and lower worlds, expressed in terms of the horizontal path, brings us to the central idea of choice, and hence trial in a sense foreign to the Egyptian context.

Israel has little choice about its liberation from the "house of bondage," nor does Pharaoh--Yahweh hardens his heart.²⁰ The horizontal plane of the Wilderness is a different matter. The narrative in Exodus and in Numbers gives us a landscape punctuated with theophanic intersections and throughout bonded to the upper world by the pillar of fire and cloud (the clue of the Wilderness labyrinth, we saw), but what gives the Wilderness its character is what happens between those moments of judgment, as Israel walks along a particular course of action. Typically God confronts the Israelites with a revelation and later judges them according to their response, but he does nothing in the interval to determine what will happen. Thus, after recalling the liberation from Egypt and revealing the meaning of the Wilderness experience as a conditional preparation for entry into the Promised Land, Moses sets the choice between life and death before his people for the generations to come (Deut 30:19).

A divine judgment is not so much a rewarding of the good and a punishing of the evil, though that happens, but a revelation of the world or state of being to which the response belongs. When, for example, the Israelites walk "after the imagination of their own heart" (Jer 9:14) they are in a sense already in the lower world to which the Lord's judgment consigns them; and when they walk his path, it becomes something like the Promised Land towards which it leads.

Perhaps it is for this reason that the "land flowing with milk and honey" (Ex 13:5; etc.) is foreshadowed in manna, which has the taste of honey (16:31) and is later called "the corn of heaven" and "angels' food" (Ps 78:24-5); and the almost sacred waters of the Gihon spring, whose name recalls a river in Eden (Gen 2:13) and itself foreshadows the apocalyptic recovery of the waters of life in Ezekiel's vision (47:1ff), is foreshadowed in the life-giving water from the rock in the Wilderness (Ex 17:1-7; Num 20:1-11). The fact that both manna and water are given as part of a test of obedience makes my point precisely, because such is the nature of the Wilderness.

The narrative concerning the events at Sinai helps establish the two aspects or levels of the Wilderness that I have just mentioned. The biblical narrative is interested, as usual, only in what happens at the top and what happens at the base, with the minimum of attention given to Moses' descent with the tablets. Three interrelated events take place at the summit: the giving of the Law; something like a vision of God; and a sacramental meal. The most significant of these is the first, which is the giving of Law in the place of lawlessness and a type of Isaiah's vision of the transformation of the Wilderness into an Edenic garden, the straightening of its crooked path, and so forth. When Moses comes down out of the fire with the fiery word of God, however, he finds what amounts to a fertility rite involving a sexual orgy in conjunction with the metallurgical production and worship of the image of a calf.²¹ Broadly speaking, it is a religious and moral form of chaos, dissolving the covenant with Yahweh (as Moses' breaking of the tablets represents), in the sharpest contrast to the creative order at the summit: a covenant or type of *hieros gamos* above, and a whoredom below. This situation

very much suggests the archetype of the world-mountain, with the presence of God at the top and the surging waters of chaos beneath, which in the form of sexual chaos connects through Potiphar's wife with the Egyptian bondage and the waters of the Red Sea, where an identical contrast and separation occurs. (Here Egypt, the Red Sea, and the chaotic level of the Wilderness become indistinguishable.) The sexual confusion at the base of Sinai is then a type of the trackless wastes to come, just as the blessing of the word is a type of those other blessings which befall Israel from above in the labyrinthine Wilderness ahead.

In my discussion of the Egyptian phase of the exodus I identified it as a type of initiation, and I suggested that the giving of the Law on Sinai corresponds to the bestowal of sacred myths that, in effect, create the initiand anew and thus give him access to the sacred. The major theme of trial in the Wilderness, whose purpose is purgatorial and perfective, alerts us to the fact that at least on one level the Wilderness repeats the initiation, substituting one kind of ordeal for another. The motif of choice or response, however, suggests that the operation has been interiorized. Thus what begins as a separation of nation from nation becomes in the Wilderness a separation of individual from individual. This latter kind is especially clear at the other end of the Wilderness in the story of the spies (Num 13:1-14:39), and as I will have numerous occasions to refer to it later, it is worth some attention here.

The difference between what Caleb and Joshua see and what the majority of the spies sees corresponds to the contrast between the calm and creative activity at the summit of Sinai and the noisy chaos below. Caleb and Joshua are allowed to enter the land that they behold, a paradise flowing with milk and honey, whose inhabitants are themselves part of this abundance, "bread for us" (14:9). The others (the evidently faithless) behold a demonic place, "a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof" (13:32) and which is peopled with "giants, the sons of Anak" (33); as a consequence they enter a labyrinthine wasteland where their carcasses fall and, presumably, are devoured. The numerical correspondence between the 40 days of their spying mission in Canaan and the 40 years of their doom (Num 14:34) also points to the connection between what they see and what they suffer. I will have more to say about this curious and crucial story later.

III.

To understand what happens to the faithless spies, especially how their punishment corresponds to the spiritual condition they reveal in their "evil report of the land" (13:32), we must devote some attention specifically to the Wilderness in its demonic aspect.

Just as the apocalyptic aspect appears both at the beginning and at the end (in the Song of the Sea and in the visions of Caleb and of Moses, respectively), so also its infernal counterpart. Israel, triumphant, witnesses the drowning of Egypt, its disappearance into the submarine form of the lower world; but what is more useful to us, the vision that completes the hardening

of Pharaoh's heart, "that he shall follow after" Israel into the disparted sea (Ex 14:4), is labyrinthine: "For Pharaoh will say of the children of Israel, They are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them in." He responds to the tempting vision by entering the trap he perceives them to be in, at which point the terrestrial labyrinth becomes the marine one. As images the two are distinct, but as metaphors they are also identical. We have already noted the two forms of chaos in Genesis, watery and terrestrial, and in some other passages dry Wilderness and submarine seabed are identified (e.g., Ex 13:18; Ps 68:22). Perhaps the ^{*}most relevant of these is Jeremiah's prophecy of the return of Babylon to primeval chaos:

...how is Babylon become an astonishment among nations! The sea is come up upon Babylon, she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof. Her cities are a desolation, a dry land, and a wilderness, a land wherein no man dwelleth, neither doth any son of man pass thereby (51:41-3).

I will consider the images of astonishment shortly, but for now we can observe that the terrestrial metaphor, as an image of frustrated and pointless movement--literally of going nowhere--can, equally with the waters of death, imply either constriction or dissolution. Thus Jonah, constricted in the belly of the fish ("The waters compassed me about, even to the soul: the depth closed me round about, the weeds were wrapped about my head," 2:5), is to be compared with the afflicted sinner who laments that God "hath hedged me about...He hath inclosed my ways with hewn stone, he hath made my paths crooked" (Lam 3:7,9); and the Egyptians, "dashed in pieces" in the Red Sea (returned, one might say, to the formless condition of primeval chaos), with the corpses of the godless wanderers fallen and wasted in the Wilderness (Ex

15:6; Num 14:29,33). The metaphors of constriction are perhaps more properly Egyptian, but as we will see later, under certain conditions they also belong in a Wilderness context.

The image of the Wilderness with the fallen carcasses of the wandering Israelites is, perhaps, the clearest example of a purely demonic labyrinth in the primary narrative. Although no devouring beast is mentioned, the demonic Canaan, to which the trackless waste in which the Israelites die is made parallel, is itself literally carnivorous, as we just saw. The later recollection in Deuteronomy adds scorpions to the fiery serpents of Numbers, and other early stories make the habitual association of hostile animals and plants with the Wilderness quite clear. This aspect of the labyrinthine Wilderness--its Minotaur--becomes especially prominent in the Prophets, where waste-land is the haunt of both natural and supernatural creatures. Of the natural kind one may mention the jackal (Mal 1:3; AV 'dragon'), which haunts ruins and preys on dead bodies (Lam 5:18; Ps 63:10; AV 'fox'); the ostrich, apparently a figure of maternal cruelty and greed (Lam 4:3);²² and the fox, "for which concealed cavities approached by difficult winding passages, such as are readily found among ruins, represent the ideal home" (Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 163). The fate of those fallen carcasses would be obvious to any desert dweller. As they would be eaten by such predators as belong to the Wilderness (the ostrich excepted, one supposes), so by the principle of metaphor, the godless are condemned to be devoured by the Wilderness itself.

In the Prophets no clear distinction can be made between the unsettled desert, the once fruitful land laid waste, and the ruined city. Apart from historical conditions, the reason for this goes back to the fundamental identity of the infernal Wilderness with Sheol, and it helps to explain how the original desert-journey becomes the metaphor of a universal condition. As Pedersen points out, "For the Israelite the wilderness is the home of the curse" (*Israel I-II*, 455), and we are reminded that according to the story in Genesis not only did the world begin as a Wilderness but it almost became one again through Adam's fall, the earth "cursed...for thy sake" (Gen 3:17). This curse is removed after the Deluge, but the equation between sin and cursed land remains throughout the Bible. Pedersen shows that because of the "intimate connection between the nature of the land and the men who dwell in it" (458), as long as men maintain their blessing, the land is prosperous, but "the country is a wilderness as soon as sin prevails" (459). The fact that demonic kingdoms are annoyingly slow to cooperate requires the distinction between the appearance and the immanent reality--the real desolation lurking just below the surface of a parody demonic prosperity--but the principle that inner and outer states form a "psychic community," as Pedersen names it (459; cf. 474-6), is fundamentally important. This principle is another form of the talion law I discussed in the last chapter and thus is the principle behind the biblical idea of judgment, as we will see in what follows. (What complicates matters is the theological point that man alone does not have the power of action: he may fail to maintain his blessing, but it is God who sends the curse.) When men become city dwellers, the curse falls upon the city, which in its ruined state becomes indistinguishable from the Wilderness proper. The broken city wall allows the incursion of hostile beings (enemies,

beasts, plants), and in that breakdown figures the dissolution of boundaries by which cosmos returns to chaos. The ruined city is thus also a demonic labyrinth.

Aaron's ritual appeasement of the desert-demon Azazel (Lev 16:10; AV, "scapegoat"), a "collective figure for all the desert spirits" of Canaanite-Babylonian demonology (George H. Williams, 13), points to the early presence of supernatural beasts in the Wilderness.²³ These beings are of no certain identity since they are metaphorical expressions of dissolving form, and they appear promiscuously mixed with natural creatures of the waste. We can see this in Isaiah's vision of the eternal devastation of Edom:

the streams thereof shall be turned into pitch, and the dust thereof into brimstone, and the land thereof shall become burning pitch. It shall not be quenched night or day; the smoke thereof shall go up for ever: from generation to generation it shall lie waste; none shall pass through it for ever and for ever. But the cormorant [owl] and the bittern [bustard] shall possess it; the owl [hornbill] also and the raven shall dwell in it: and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion, and the stones of emptiness....And thorns shall come up in her palaces, nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof: and it shall be an habitation of dragons [jackals], and a court for owls [ostriches]. The wild beasts of the desert [devils] shall also meet with the wild beasts of the island [hyenas], and the satyr [hairy one] shall cry to his fellow; the screech owl [Lilith] also shall rest there....(34:9-14)

Otto Kaiser (whose alternate translations of the beasts' names I have inserted above) notes that in this passage "The identification of animals and plants is largely conjectural" (*Isaiah* 13-39, 352), but however much information about these dubious creatures has been lost, their dubiousness is just the point. God has "destined the country for ever to be a place just like chaos, a real

tohu-wabohu (cf. Gen. 1:2) dominated by eternal fire and by plants and animals hostile to men."²⁴

The burning pitch and brimstone in the passage just quoted allude to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Kaiser, *Isaiah* 13-39, 358), an association frequently made in this context.²⁵ Earlier I discussed burning Sodom in terms of sexual and metallurgical imagery as a metaphorical equivalent of Egypt, the "iron furnace." Its connection with Wilderness symbolism is to be found in the enigmatic figure of Lot's wife, who is not mentioned again in the Old Testament. Typologically, however, she anticipates the sinful Israelites who long for the comfortable security of Egypt, and as a result are condemned to wander to death in the trackless waste (cf. Num 14:4ff), which is what the Egypt they harbor within themselves really is. To see how this is so, we must return to the talion principle of correspondence between inner and outer states (what one beholds, one is). In the historical narrative the blessing and the curse tend to be entirely externalized, as for example in the image of Israel in the Wilderness or of Nehemiah and his people amidst the ruins of Jerusalem, surrounded by scoffing enemies. We noticed before that the separation of nation from nation at the Red Sea becomes in the Wilderness internalized within Israel (the rebellious from the faithful). As Pedersen has shown, the tendency to regard the Israelite community as sharing a common life with their God is centrally biblical, and therefore the idea of a macranthropic being or "invisible figure of grand proportions" (*Israel I-II*, 475-6), of whom each Israelite is a member, is never very far away, even if never explicit.²⁶

The shadowy image of the macranthropos provides us with the transition from an external to an internal enemy, on which the emphasis tends to fall in the later books, particularly in Job, the Psalms, and the Prophets. As in the following passage from Isaiah, we seem to be envisioning the inner tempest: "the wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked" (57:20-1). The afflicted psalmist is similarly troubled; like the God-forsaken land he has become a Wilderness: "My heart is smitten, and withered like grass....By reason of the voice of my groaning my bones cleave to my skin. I am like a pelican of the wilderness: I am like an owl of the desert" (102:4-6). The noise of both roaring beast and of the waters of chaos are combined in Job's cry, "my roarings are poured out like the waters" (3:24). Inner and outer wastes converge when in Psalm 46 God commands the silence of creation--"Be still, and know that I am God"--speaking simultaneously to the roaring waters, the raging heathen, and troubled minds, or, as one might say, to the Devil in all three.

The correspondence of inner with outer cacophony brings us to their resonance, that is, to their identity as a process rather than as a state, when "Deep calleth unto deep" (Ps 42:7). In Ezekiel, for example, the sound of the fall of Tyre brings the vassal princes off their thrones onto the ground, where they tremble and are astonished (made mentally desolate) at his desolation (Ezek 26:15-21). The terrifying sound is a variant of the cacophony stilled by God at the creation-battle (cf. Jer 49:21), and is related to the wider context of aural metaphors that include the unintelligible, deceitful,

or mocking speech of the human allies of chaos. As the deceitful, ultimately unintelligible words of the enemy, his "devouring words" (Ps 52:4, lit., "words of swallowing"), afflict the troubled soul, so derision comes from the wicked and belongs to the ruined, who become "a proverb and a byword among all people" (1 Kings 9:7; cf. Job 17:1ff; Ezek 23:32-3). The sound of desolation associated with man, city, land, or people may also take the form of news, as in the case of Jericho, effecting terror and paralysis in the hearer. In Jeremiah's prophecy of the Jews' desolation, word of it will cause the hearer's ears to 'quiver' in horror (Heb. *tsalal*, AV "tingle", in Jer 19:3; cf. Hab 3:16). His emphasis, however, is rather on the sight than the sound of desolation, as is the case generally in the Bible. Note the hissing of mockery as the aural counterpart of desolation: "And I will make this city desolate, and an hissing; every one that passeth thereby shall be astonished and hiss because of all the plagues thereof" (Jer 19:8; cf. Lev 26:32; Jer 25:18; Ezek 12:19; Jer 51:36ff).

Earlier we saw that people and land form what Pedersen calls a "psychic community": specifically that the Lord judges an inner sin by inflicting an outer desolation according to the talion law. The resonance between 'crime' and 'punishment,' however, allows us to see that the causal metaphor implicit in this notion of judgment (however 'cause' may be qualified) only defines a special case of a more general principle. The desolation of land or city presumably follows upon the sins of its people, as at Sodom, but the passages we just considered suggest that the vision of desolation is, to borrow a handy classical term, 'gorgonian,' by which I mean an atemporal, noncausal judgment, a revelation of what *is*. A 'gorgonian' vision is not simply a reflection, but

a transforming vision. Whatever the scene of horror--bestial and cannibalistic devouring (Jer 19:6-9), smouldering ashes of the incinerated faithless (Ezek 28:18-19), possession by demonic beasts (Jer 51:36ff), and so forth--the sight of it appears to bring about an analogous condition in the beholder because, one suspects, it resonates with his own spiritual or mental condition. He becomes what he is.

Thus the story of Sodom tells also of Lot's wife. Aside from rabbinic legend (Winston, 217), we know nothing of her save that she "looked back" and "became a pillar of salt" (Gen 19:26), but we have the authority of Jesus in Luke (17:28-32) that, as St. Augustine says, she provides "a solemn and sacred warning that no man who has set his foot on the path of salvation ought to yearn again for what he has left behind."²⁷ We may thus compare her nostalgia to the Egyptian longings of the sinful Israelites, which got them condemned to death in the trackless wastes. Gunkel cites several myths of petrification, including the Gorgon's, but interprets Lot's wife's sin as attempting to gain a vision of God (213). The difficulty is in what one means by 'God.' If we put the story of Sodom into the context of all those other desolated cities, however, we can see that the 'God' she may be presumed to have seen is analogous to the Promised Land glimpsed by the faithless spies. Thus the author of *Wisdom*: "a standing pillar of salt is a monument of an unbelieving soul" (10:7).

The pillar of salt is not simply an image of stasis; that would be accomplished just as well by a stone pillar. Stones, and especially stone pillars, however, are often invested with numinous power in Semitic thought,²⁸

too much so to be a suitable image for the gorgonian enervation Lot's wife suffers. Instead she becomes a dead, dry pillar or, as Philo says in *On Dreams*, "a soulless pillar, with its substance streaming down from it" (1.248), in contrast to the anointed stones of worship, like Jacob's *beth-el* (Gen 28:17). The associations of salt with death and annihilation are sufficiently established by Moses' description of the fate of the apostates' land: passers-by will see "the plagues of that land, and the sickness which the Lord hath laid upon it; And that the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning, that it is not sown nor beareth...like the overthrow of Sodom, and Gomorrah" (Deut 29:22-3; cf. Jer 17:6; Zeph 2:9).

The dry and therefore desolate pillar, the pillar devoid of energy, leads us to the desolate sanctuary or altar; the pillar is the primitive form of both (William Robertson Smith, 201). In the comprehensive statement of the curse in Leviticus, the idols of the idolatrous are accurately described as "carcases," that is, images without any real indwelling power (26:30; cf. Noth, 200). This is a consistent biblical criticism of heathen idols.²⁹ The image of dead bodies scattered about before these 'dead' idols (Lev 26:30; Ezek 6:4) reflects actual Semitic sacrificial ritual (William Robertson Smith, 225-8), but in the Bible it becomes a potent metaphor of enervate chaos, and reminds us of death in the Wilderness round about or inside the vanished idol of the Israelites' demonic longings. The absence of God's glory in his sanctuary similarly brings about its desolation, as when Antiochus Epiphanes desecrated the Holy of Holies with "the abomination that maketh desolate" (Dan 11:31; cf. 8:13; 9:27; Caird, 262-3).

The enervation of these pillars and images corresponds to the condition of the faint and weary wanderers in the Wilderness, whose dryness is repeatedly emphasized. The natural faintness of a thirsty traveler under such conditions here signifies the result or judgment of apostasy from the divine source of life-energy. In Wilderness symbolism the primary agent of divine energy is the water of life, and thirst or dryness is therefore a characteristic of the lower world as Wilderness.³⁰ Isaiah, for example, implicitly identifies dryness with the demonic beasts of the desert (35:1,6ff), and the accursed man complains thus of God: "From above hath he sent fire into my bones...he hath spread a net for my feet, he hath turned me back: he hath made me desolate and faint all the day" (Lam 1:13; cf. Ezek 33:28).

Being 'turned back,' having one's way blockaded, following a crooked path, and turning aside from the path are all judgments or acts related to 'the land that no man passes through,' or 'where no man dwells' (cf. Jer 2:6). In some cases the turning aside is a perverse act (actually, a failure to act); in others the Lord, either directly or through a hostile intermediary, blockades passage to the unworthy, as when by the removal of his presence, he deprives the Israelites of the strength to ascend into the Promised Land (Num 14:40-5). Again, their Egyptian longings, their demonic vision of Canaan, the consequent condemnation to the Wilderness labyrinth, and their enervation, are all coordinate parts of the same complex image. The terrible solitude of the wasteland, where no man dwells, contrasts sharply with the mountain or city of habitation (Ex 15:13; Ps 107:7), where the holy community enjoys the Lord's energizing peace (cf. Ps 122; etc.). Men get trapped in the trackless waste,

but they do not *dwell* there. Despite the fact that a group of Israelites under the leadership of Joshua enters Canaan and settles it, the Wilderness is 'the land that *no man* passes through' and therefore suggests a radical discontinuity in the story, like that between the apocalyptic completion of the journey in the Song of the Sea (Ex 15:13) and the beginning of the Wilderness phase a few verses later (22). It is the discontinuity characteristic of conditional entry.

The glimpse of perfection or vision of the heavenly archetype at the moment of liberation occurs in Moses' overlooking of the Promised Land from Pisgah (Heb., 'the hill'), when, one might say, he ascends out of the labyrinth, or into its heavenly nucleus, altogether. What he sees is not visible from any geographical mountain in that area, but this is not the only difficulty standing in the way of an historical allegorization. The survey of the land that takes place from Pisgah is a metaphor (a 'land-survey metaphor') apparently based on an ancient legal act, "by means of which the conveyance of the land in question was carried out" (von Rad, *Deuteronomy*, 210; cf. Deut 34:1ff, Gen 13:14), which implies that at that moment Moses--and only Moses--takes possession of the Promised Land. He arrives there in a vision. The mysterious circumstances of his death when, as one might say, he is 'full of sap,'³¹ is a matter of controversy, but ignoring naturalistic interpretations the story appears to be saying that the Lord buried the vigorous Moses in an unknown place (34:6), which suggests translation (cf. Gen 5:24), that is, the death and resurrection ordeal of the Wilderness labyrinth's innermost threshold. In the book of Joshua we descend once again into the lower labyrinthine world of dust, grime, and bloodshed, just as Israel earlier left

off its singing to wander in a thirsty land. I do not wish to contravene the apparently obvious meaning of the narrative, but to point out that it is not nearly as simple as might first appear, and that a complex ambiguity hangs about the threshold of the Promised Land.

We saw that in initiatory symbolism, the initiand is taken from the maternal environment into a wilderness where his ordeal takes place. In the foregoing discussion, I have concentrated on the terrors of the Wilderness in their various biblical forms, and now we should be able to see that the images of terror correspond or belong to that part of the initiand that dies. The part which gets born must react to the confrontation with the divine--this is, in fact, the essence of the ordeal--in another way entirely. If we return to the vertical ambiguity of the Wilderness experience, its combination of apocalyptic and demonic aspects, we can see the root of the idealization of the Wilderness, which becomes a refuge from degeneracy and danger,³² and hence a place of terrible purity in which contact with God is made and maintained.³³ In Jeremiah and Hosea this idealization becomes the theme of divine love in the Wilderness (Jer 2:2-3; Hos 2:14-15; cf. Song 3:6), which is related to its flowering in Isaiah, that is, to the sexual form of that which is otherwise expressed as the giving of the Law in the place of lawlessness, leading the faithful in the land than no man passes through, and the release of water in the place of permanent drought.

To our sense of life in the world as a kind of Egyptian ordeal--a place ruled by chance, hence a real "house of bondage" despite apparent plenitude and security--the Wilderness adds the powerful metaphor of the quest through

an essential wasteland to what Isaiah so wonderfully calls "the fields of desire" (32:12 AV mrg.) As I have shown, the Wilderness metaphor brings into the sharpest relief the question of the wanderer's desires and defines a process by which they can arise from his mind and take shape as external action, hence subjects for perfective judgment. What remains in this study of the exodus paradigm is to focus on the archetypal structure continually repeated throughout the Wilderness in its numerous *kairoí* or threshold events, when the choice for life or for death is made and fulfilled.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹ For an overview of the complexity of Wilderness material, see Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 254-64. Many of the problems he mentions are irrelevant to my investigation. I have assumed the unity of the text and, for example, largely overlooked textual problems.

² For this tradition see the critical summary in Childs, *The Book of Exodus*, 263; and see Talmon, 50-5; George H. Williams, 15-21; and Mauser, 45-52. I deal with the motif of the ideal or paradisaal Wilderness later in this chapter.

³ On labyrinths generally, see Kern's recent and very thorough study and the essay by Fletcher. See also Matthews, and, especially, Knight, *Vergil*, and Levy. Unfortunately, none of these specifically deals with the labyrinth metaphor in literature.

⁴ Knight, *Vergil*, 188-9; Kern, 13-14; Fletcher, 334ff.

⁵ For the cosmological ideas implicit in the ziggurat, see Levy, 168-72; and Burrows.

⁶ This is a complex point which I can only touch on here. Basically, metaphorical usage reveals the vertical component in the fact that the labyrinth is often if not always a passage between different levels or states of being (cf. Levy, 248; Job 38:1). Metaphors of guidance and support (e.g., Ariadne's clue) are inherently vertical because they originate in a vertical perspective that is ultimately a divine one. Labyrinth diagrams all suggest this perspective, and some make it quite explicit, for which see Kern, 300, 302 (fig. 381), 304 (fig. 384), 305.

⁷ On Jericho as a labyrinth in the manuscript tradition, see Kern, 30, 111, 182-98; and on Jericho as the biblical Troy, see Kern, 30, and Knight, *Vergil*, 124; 221; 285; 302, n. 16.

⁸ This is a slightly modified version of the catabatic pattern described by Knight, *Vergil*, 155. For catabasis symbolism in the classical world, see Raymond J. Clark.

⁹ This is essentially Raymond J. Clark's argument for Helen and Ariadne (128-32), which following Rykwert (152) I extend to Rahab.

¹⁰ The etymology of the name was a fact of exegesis as early as Origen, who in his third Homily interprets it as *latitudo*, by which he means the latitude of the Church, "which is made up of sinners and harlots"; and *dilatatio*, signifying her power to increase and go forth (Migne, 12:839C-840C, quoted by Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 249-50).

¹¹ Note that Jerusalem appears in Ps 122:3 as a city "bound firmly together" (RSV), "knit together" (JPSA/W), "compact together" (AV); see A. A. Anderson, 2:855. Ultimately it is not crucial for my purposes whether the reference is to the compactness of the city or to the worshippers within her: the context concerns entry into an urban sanctuary, a city whose strength is the faith of its worshippers. The negative compliment, a failure of faith meaning a breach of the walls, is a common metaphor; see, for example, Isa 30:13; cf. Ezek 26:10 and the situation at Jericho itself, where the defensive strength of the walls of the faithless is suddenly revealed to be totally illusory.

¹² Cf. Ps 35:3-4; Lam 3:7,9; etc. This is precisely Origen's mystical interpretation of Jericho's fall, in which, as Daniélou explains, "every individual [makes] this victory personal to himself. Each of us carries within

himself the Jericho of his own idols" (*From Shadows to Reality*, 280).

¹³ Cf. Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, 247-9. A scarlet thread also turns up in the story of the birth of Tamar's children (Gen 38:11-30). Ignoring the element of pretense in her story (she could be 'pretending' to a reality transcending her purpose), we see that she and Rahab are much alike: both are redeemed through the sale of their favours, and from the resulting intercourse new life arises in both cases.

¹⁴ On the labyrinth imagery in the legends of Troy, see Knight, *Vergil*; and "Myth and Legend at Troy"; Raymond J. Clark, 131-2, 135-6, 162ff; Levy, 247-50, 259-60; and Kern, 99-111, 391-5.

¹⁵ On the ritual forms of urban destruction (particularly in the stories of Carthage and Troy) see Rykwert, 70-1; Knight, *Vergil*, 110-12, 116, 237-8; "Myth and Legend at Troy," 101-2; Muller, 186-7; and the sources in the following note. The reader should also consult these works *passim*, and Levy, 213-69, for the rites of urban construction, since their negative counterparts mirror them and cannot be fully understood otherwise. Particularly relevant to the story of Jericho is the ritual circumambulation known to the Romans as the *amburbium* (fr. *ambi*, 'round about,' and *urbs*, 'city'), by which the magical strength of urban defenses were maintained (Knight, *Vergil*, 112, 209, 233; Rykwert, 126). Knight also argues that the un-Homeric version of Achilles' battle with Hector adopted by Virgil and others, in which the Greek hero drags the Trojan thrice around Troy, shows a withershins movement, "something like the Roman rite of an *amburbium* but with the opposite intention, to neutralize, instead of to reinforce, the magic" of the labyrinthine walls (*Vergil*, 116). See Aen 1.483; 2.273, where Hector's swollen feet indicate, Austin points out, "Hector was still alive when he was dragged" (*Aeneidos Liber Secundus*, 130); and see Sophocles, *Ajax* 1029-31; Euripides, *Andromache* 107-8; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica* 1.12-13, 112; and *Culex* 324: "Hectoreo victor lustravit corpore Troiam," "[Achilles], victorious, purified Troy with Hector's body," which Knight interprets as a kind of exorcism, "to drive the magical power out of the wall of Troy" (*Vergil*, 116). A full discussion of this subject unfortunately lies well beyond the confines of my argument.

¹⁶ On the use of music in bringing down city walls, see Levy, 250; Knight, 118-9, 124; and Sandys, 378, with Bömer, 8-9:20-1, on the city of Megara in the story of Scylla and Nisus in Ovid, *Met* 8.1-151 (see 14-16), which deserves a close reading in this context.

¹⁷ My discussion is based on the following words: (1) *chareb*, vb., be waste, desolate; *choreb*, n.[m.], desolation; *charebah*, n.f., waste, desolation, ruin; (2) 'arabah, n.f., desert-plain, steppe; (3) *midbar*, n.m., wilderness; (4) *shamem*, vb., be desolated, appalled; *shamah*, n.f., waste, appalment; *shemamah*, n.f., a devastation, waste; and the related *yasham*, vb., be desolate; *yeshiyamah*, n.f., desolation; *yeshimon*, n.m., waste, wilderness. Speaking of the word *shemamah*, Pedersen notes that, in its verbal form, [it] denotes the paralyzation prevailing in a soul touched by evil....In the same manner it is used of a town or a people which has lost its strength and its power to live...of fields that are no longer cultivated...of the inhabited land which no more shelters human beings...of pastures in which there is no more life.... It denotes the effects of the curse in all its forms, and with this corresponds the various derived nouns. It is the paralysis, the terror, the destruction, the curse which is implied in them, and at the same time they denote the paralyzed, the destroyed, the accursed, the place on which the curse rests. [*shemamah*] is the country lacking the blessing of the country of man, where no human beings but only jackals dwell...the dry land...the land of ruins...(Israel I-II, 457-8). (5) *tsiyyah*, n.f., dryness, drought; cf. also

tsiy, n.m., desert-dweller, or crier, yelper. For (1), (2), and (4), above, see Mauser, 19; for (3), see Mauser, 18; Talmon, 39ff; all definitions are from *BDBG*. See also *TDNT*, 2:657-60, where an analysis of the Gk. *eremos*, 'wilderness,' shows it to have very much the same semantic field as these various Hebrew words define. For studies that share my methodology, see Pedersen, *Israel I-II*, 454-8, and George H. Williams.

¹⁸ On the theme of the *toldoth* or generations of man descending from Adam, see Voegelin, 165-74.

¹⁹ See the article on *derekh* and related words in *TDOT*, 3:270-93.

²⁰ At one point in his initiation on Horeb Moses raises the question of the Hebrews' belief in his divine commission, but any disbelief, hence any choice, is prevented by "all the words" of the Lord that Aaron speaks before the people and all "the signs" he shows them (Ex 4:1ff).

²¹ Childs notes that the verb *tsachaq*, 'laugh, play,' in Ex 32:6 "can have a neutral sense (Gen 19.4) or a decidedly sexual connotation (Gen. 26.8; 39.14)" (*The Book of Exodus*, 556). Verse 25 confirms the latter interpretation for the present passage. On the choice of the calf image, see 565-6.

²² James Hastings, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible*, 715-16. Heb. *ya'en* (AV 'ostrich'), apparently related to *ya'elah*, greed, means something like 'voracious one' (*BDBG*, 419, col. a).

²³ Cf. William Robertson Smith, 120-31; Cohen, "A Note on Milton's Azazel"; and Kluger, 41-8.

²⁴ "...Jahwe das Land für immer zu einem dem Chaos gleichwertigen Ort bestimmt hat, an dem eines echtes Tohuwabohu, vgl. 1 Mose 1,2, von ewigen Feuern, dem Menschen feindlichen Pflanzen und Tieren herrscht" (Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 284). I translate from Kaiser's German because his published translation, which I use elsewhere, garbles the sense of this passage.

²⁵ Cf. Jer 49:17; Deut 29:23; Isa 13:19-21; Jer 50:38-40; and Ezek 28:18-20.

²⁶ For a detailed discussion of the idea that for the biblical Hebrews the group, past and future, constituted a single personality, see Robinson, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," and Bowman, 70.

²⁷ *The City of God* 10.8 (281). Similar readings may be found in Philo, *De Ebrietate* 164; *De Somniis* (*On Dreams*) 1.247-8; and in Wisdom 10:7, quoted below.

²⁸ See Levy, 123ff, 200, 202-5, 216-18; William Robertson Smith, 203-12; Arthur J. Evans, especially 32-7.

²⁹ Cf. Jer 2:27; Ps 106:20; Isa 37:19; 46:5-7; etc. On the *asherah* (AV "grove") see Chapter 7, pp. 345-6.

³⁰ See, for example, Ex 15:22; Deut 8:15; Ps 63:1; 143:6; Ezek 19:13; Zeph 2:13; etc.; Tromp, 133, 191-3; Onians, 272-4, 287-91, etc.

³¹ The author of Deuteronomy comments that at death "his eye was not dimmed, nor his natural force abated" (34:7). This "natural force" (Heb. *lecha*, moisture, freshness) is in its adjectival form used of trees (Gen 30:37; Ezek 17:24; 20:47), fruit (Num 6:3), and animal tendons (Judg 16:7-8). For the meaning of this 'greenness' or 'moisture,' see Onians as cited in the previous note. Albright points out that the cognate of *lecha* in Ugaritic means "life-force," as in the epic of Dan'el ("The 'Natural Force of Moses' in the Light of Ugaritic"). Consider that at the climax of his Wilderness journey Moses, having metaphorically taken possession of the Promised Land, suddenly dies full of that form of life-energy most characteristic of the upper or paradisaical level of existence.

³² Cf. Jer 9:2; Prov 21:19; 1 Sam 23:19; Ps 55:6-8; Jer 48:6.

³³ Cf. Gen 12:1ff; Ex 3:1; 19:9; 1 Kings 19:1ff.

Chapter 4: Promised Land

From the summit of Pisgah, Moses is afforded a vision of a Promised Land that Israel below does not see, and although he is visited by death at the boundary and his people are allowed to cross the threshold, the peculiar circumstances attending this incident indicate, as we have seen, a more complex reading. I have suggested that in a sense Moses alone enters the Promised Land, but, however metaphorically apt, that can only be part of the story.

Moses himself is an ambiguous figure: he is the great Old Testament mediator and, in the Christian reading, mediatorial type of Christ, both a man of God and a man of errant Israel, who takes upon himself the burden of his sinful people before their often wrathful God. We have noted before the gradual interiorization of the initiatory ordeal as Israel proceeds on its exodus, and at the outset of the quest we noted a close parallel in the metaphor of Moses' birth from the Nile and the story of Israel's liberation from the Sea. It is therefore fitting that at the threshold of fulfillment Moses himself, who incorporates both the godly and the godless elements of Israel, should suffer within himself a separation analogous to that of Israel from Egypt or to those suffered by his own nation throughout the exodus. If one can say that Moses enters the Promised Land, then it is his 'remnant' that does so, and perhaps this 'remnant' accounts for the curious emphasis on his vigour at the moment of death.

What happens to Moses at the threshold is typical of the *kairoi* of trial and judgment in the exodus, many of which I have surveyed in the last two chapters in the process of defining the characteristics of Egypt and the Wilderness. Now that we are in no danger of confusing the two metaphorical regions, we are prepared to examine the archetypal structure they have in common.

According to the paradigm I sketched earlier, behind (or above) all the individual threshold events of the exodus is one archetypal event, about which some tentative conclusions are now possible. We saw earlier that this archetype, though contained within the exodus, reflects its fundamental structure in small, so that by bringing the archetype into focus and indicating the anatomy of its principal forms we will have an essential description of the greater structure, which itself is a paradigm of the entire biblical framework. This description will in turn help us to understand how the Bible so successfully includes within its framework extra-biblical analogues of its own stories. By allowing for the assimilation of homologues, the Bible extends its expressive range and definition, for example, through classical types of the biblical threshold event. With its deliberate turning away from numinously charged space, the Bible says relatively little about boundaries and boundary crossings, though they are by no means absent. Boundaries were far more a Roman preoccupation, as Joseph Rykwert shows with admirable detail in *The Idea of a Town*, and therefore received considerable attention from the poets. Thus, because a quest through a metaphorical landscape tends to demand the boundary-crossing as a metaphor of spiritual

transformation, the Christian poet would naturally turn to classical imagery for the means to express what is often only implicit in the biblical vision.

I.

Moses' death and burial on the mountain are his personal fate, but they are also metaphors for a descent into a lower world that Israel below in some sense continues to inhabit. As at the Red Sea the moment of vision passes, and once again the narrative returns to the world of ordinary experience under changed conditions. Moses sees the land of promise, but once Israel enters it, we find Canaan full of grime and bloodshed. It is far more--or less--than an oasis of milk, honey, and eternal peace; it in fact quickly becomes another place of captivity from which another exodus must begin. At Sinai Moses and his people also experience the Mountain of God in two vertically divergent ways, signified by the spatial separation and by the radical opposition of the two images of emergence from fire: from above, Moses with incandescent face carrying the tablets of the Law; from below, the orgiastic people (burning in lust, one might say) with their golden calf, fertility idol and furnace-birth. We saw that these two levels of being establish the fundamental ambiguity of the Wilderness experience, but we can now begin to see that the two levels or visions of the Wilderness, like the corresponding visions of the Promised Land, originate in the ambiguity of the threshold event itself. Let us consider some examples of threshold crossings in the exodus.

In the last of the Egyptian plagues the avenging angel's judgment depends on the presence or absence of blood on the lintel, clearly enough a threshold rite. The blood is apotropaic to the death angel, but rather than testing the initiand in the usual way, it is a kind of passport or talismanic sign of identity that allows those who have it to remain alive and hence ascend out from the land of death, while those others, creatures of darkness, die in their eldest sons' deaths (cf. Ex 12:33)¹ and hence remain there, or rather, descend further into the lower world they already inhabit. We saw earlier that in the view of the author of *Wisdom* the plagues manifest the ambiguous nature of the elements, which according to the talion principle reflect or echo back the spiritual condition of those being tried, just as later on the *Promised Land* appears to the spies in different ways according to the spirit within them. The idea of destructive elements that in the presence of the godly "forget" their destructiveness recalls the shamanistic image of the one who lives in fire, of which we have noted examples in Moses, Elijah, and the three godly children who endure and, like Moses, even appear to prosper in the fire by which others die or are terrified. Again, as images of trial and separation, the plagues form part of a complex event that in essence is quite simple: at the threshold of judgment a mixed multitude is separated and thus purified by a vision that reveals the divergent identities of the multitude's two components. The people of God ascend, the people of Pharaoh descend. One notes that the plagues of Egypt persist in the subsequent narrative as a metaphor of the kind of separation they illustrate here (e.g., Ex 15:26).

I have dealt with the Red Sea event in detail already, but it remains noteworthy that in this threshold separation the talion principle is at work in essentially the same way. Israel, pointedly identified with the created order amidst chaos, walks on dry land amidst the deadly waters and ascends into visionary peace, while Egypt is first presented with a vision of labyrinthine confusion, and choosing to pursue it descends into oneness with it. The typology of the narrative allows the vision of fulfillment to be glimpsed and then to pass away, not implying failure but rather imperfection in the etymological sense, as with something not finished (*imperfectum*). Therefore the series of thresholds, one upon another, each a type of the whole. The very next event after the Red Sea crossing is another crossing. Coming to the "bitter waters" at Marah--a concentrated vision of the Wilderness as frustrated thirst--the two reactions to it reveal the godly and the godless now within Israel itself (Ex 15:23-7). Moses cries to God, the people murmur. Moses' prayer is rewarded by gift of the tree that sweetens the waters and therefore serves as passport to the paradisaal oasis to which he leads the people, and although the people's murmuring is not punished, later contexts establish its demonic and downward-tending thrust. Indeed in the following threshold event where hunger is the ordeal, murmuring is linked to a longing for Egypt (Ex 16:2-3), and though Moses' godly prayer brings down the "corn of heaven," the angelic food immediately becomes the means for further trial (16:4), which some fail through greed, and later the means for revelation of the godless members' Egyptian longings (Num 11:4-6), punished by a surfeit of meat and a deadly plague (31-5).

II.

The foregoing examples should suffice to indicate how the ambiguity of the threshold reflects the perfective purpose of the exodus. Nevertheless it may still be difficult to understand how the perfection is anything other than negative, that is, in what sense the godly can ever be said to arrive at the end of their journey. Though by the constraints of my argument we are necessarily and almost exclusively concerned with the path of the godless (for whom the Promised Land is permanently elusive), we must be able to see that the threshold is genuinely ambiguous, or to use another metaphor, that at the crossroads the biblical quester's path forks into a way up as well as a way down, both of which are open to him. The genuine openness of both ways at every threshold, however closed a given quester may be to either, is required if real freedom of choice is to be maintained and theocratic determinism avoided.

The progressive shrinking of the physical territory identified with the promise (Frye, *The Great Code*, 158-9) appears to culminate in Jeremiah's prophecy of the writing of the Law in the hearts of believers (31:33), when the Promised Land becomes an interior, spiritual domain. This reappearance of the sacred space within man suggests that the elusiveness in question has a positive purpose: it is, so to speak, the stubbornness of the ultimately real not to be objectified. Since the Law ultimately belongs in the heart, the Bible itself cannot be turned into an object without doing violence to its own assumptions. The particular assumption relevant here is of an audience of fallen men who are as much a part of questing Israel as those in the text. As

soon as we consider the intended reader a "mixed multitude" who is as much a part of the exodus as those in the text, many difficulties in the narrative become meaningful, and in particular, those surrounding entry into the Promised Land. We noted before that if anyone ever can be said to have entered, it is Moses' 'remnant,' or, to cite another example, what we see of the resurrected Jesus ascending curiously into the clouds. What perspective on the exodus do these examples imply?

If we take the exodus as itself a provoking vision, two opposed perspectives seem possible. From the lower one the heavenly sights momentarily glimpsed at each threshold are indeed tempting snatches of a fleeting, illusory dream that can never be possessed. Since by definition the biblical reader shares this lower perspective, for him all scenes of fulfillment are apotropaically hedged about with metaphors of impossibility, mutability, or at the very least extreme peril--not primarily, one supposes, to frighten off the unworthy reader but to 'scare the Hell out of' him. Moses' song at the close of Deuteronomy is a typical example of the apotropaic prophecy: when after exhorting the people to "choose life" (30:19) and describing his words "as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass" (32:2), he prophesies the utter annihilation of Israel, indeed, of the whole earth (22ff). From the lower view the barriers are thus absolute, and such a prophecy becomes a statement of doom and sentence of death.

Though it may be, and essentially is narrow (Matt 7:14), the way to life remains despite the many such statements. The choice to it is offered repeatedly, the visions of heavenly nourishment persist, and in the Wilderness

at least, are said to have fed the people. (All the people are fed, few understand what they are eating.) If, as in the Wilderness, we can assign the otherwise unaccountable persistence of heavenly vision to the perspective or spiritual state corresponding to the "way up," then we can understand how the Promised Land's elusiveness is both a hopeful guide and a meaningful statement. It is precisely the view Milton has dramatized in the paradisaical garden of Adam and Eve, which is largely outside the scope of this study.

III.

We can now turn to the threshold event itself and consider its structure in some detail. From the evidence we have surveyed, the reader will note that in each case the quester (who may be several, or one internally several) comes to an experience or vision provoking him to react in a way that reveals and consolidates his identity. He begins mixed, potentially either godly or godless because he is both, and by the choice he makes becomes one or the other and is judged accordingly. (I am of course assuming that what usually appears as a long temporal process, consisting of many such thresholds, is the refraction across time of one archetypal event, in which the judgment is absolute and final.) I will distinguish three parts that constitute the structure of the typical threshold event: the vision, the choice, and the judgment. The reader will see in the following study of *Paradise Lost* how this basic tripartite structure governs each of Satan's threshold crossings.

By 'vision' I mean an experience not necessarily or even essentially visual but 'existential' (that is, pertaining to man's spiritual existence in time), for which the extraordinary apparition is an apt vehicle, especially in the Bible, where theophanic visions are so carefully guarded as to give additional significance to the visually numinous. We noted that at the Red Sea Israel receives the apocalyptic vision of what it is to become and is not yet, the created order amidst chaos; and Egypt is confronted with the vision of what the godless already are, the chaos from which Israel is redeemed. Egypt beholds itself as if in a mirror of revelation (a mirror, one might say, such as Narcissus gazed into) and sees there a gorgonian image of its demonic selfhood, whereas Israel sees genuinely beyond its mixed and largely corrupt present to the archetype of its promised future, upon whose path it enters. At Horeb Moses similarly beholds an image of what he is about to become: the Burning Bush, which lives in fire and is not consumed, is a metaphor of the biblical man of God whose mastery over fire is proved later in the firestorm at Sinai, in Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, and in other metaphorical places of fiery transformation and translation we have examined. The story of the Fiery Furnace supplies what is missing from the story of Moses, namely what fire does consume (the godless soldiers of the king), though we can guess that it is Moses' timorous, vacillating weakness which is consumed on Horeb. At Sinai, one might say, the sight of the numinous mountain, smoking like a furnace and quaking greatly (Ex 19:18), is to the mixed multitude an apotropaic vision of their own chaotic selves, from which they turn away to a parody of the architectonic order manifested to Moses, their golden calf of fertility and orgiastic rites: "and they said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt" (32:4). A much clearer form of that Sinaitic

vision takes place at the opposite end of the Wilderness, when the spies return from the Promised Land with their opposed reports of it; but before we look again at that crucial incident, we should consider one significant Wilderness event, the giving of manna.

We have seen before that the manna is a metaphor of the heavenly in the Wilderness, a miraculous gift of sustenance in the place of ultimate want, corresponding to the Sinaitic vision of Law in the place of ultimate lawlessness, but again that can only be part of the story. It is the part to be identified with the Israelite godly, who thus behold a vision of redeemed nature that anticipates the Promised Land, which will be theirs in a genuine future. On the other hand, and to the other, godless half of Israel, the manna is a metaphor of perilous opportunity and mutability, hence the gluttinous greed of those who hoard it and its consequent corruption. We saw earlier that the "corn of heaven" is directly linked to the food of Canaan, and the godless show an identical attitude towards both: in both places they attempt to secure their food by independent, opportune action, in one by excess gathering and in the other by participation in the manipulative rites of the local gods. In the Wilderness, we are told, manna not gathered melts away, and although every man has just enough "according to his eating" (Ex 16:16), its disappearance in that manner provokes greed in the godless. The significance to them of what they see in the disappearance of manna is suggested by the corresponding vision of the godless spies--the "land which eateth up the inhabitants thereof" (Num 13:32)--which also suggests the mythological form of the fear that, one might suppose, drives the dwellers in Canaan to their manipulative rites.

These spies, who consolidate the godless within Israel at that moment, behold an ultimate image of frustrated hunger: not merely a wasteland but a land in the form of a devouring monster, corresponding to the Wilderness whose sun consumes the excess manna each morning. The demonic devourers, that is, are given a vision of themselves as they have chosen to become from the beginning of the Wilderness journey, whereas the godly remnant behold something promised, something given beyond themselves. What happens here is very instructive. The devourers turn from the terrible self-image, as from an apotropaic guardian of the Land; but they turn towards what in reality is its parody demonic equivalent, the false abundance of Egypt, which earlier had 'devoured' Israel. Their judgment, we have seen, is another form of the terrible reflection, so that in fact they enter the looking-glass world of their own imaginings, the devouring Wilderness. The vision is the punishment.

Choice, the second element in the threshold event, may often seem an inappropriate word for what happens or can be presumed to happen between vision and judgment in the exodus. "I have seen this people," the Lord observes to Moses, "and, behold, it is a stiffn^ecked people" (Ex 32:9). As the murmuring motif bears out, Israel's power of choice is seldom clearly evident; the people seem doomed by their recurrent if not constant stubbornness, and the severity and narrowness of the Lord's governance appears to supply whatever they might lack in restrictions. Nevertheless, so insistent is the Bible on the freedom of choice that the Lord himself has it: persuaded by Moses not to annihilate them for this stiffn^ecked tendency, "the Lord repented of the evil which he had thought to do unto his people" (32:14).

Biblical prophecy, we have noted, is correspondingly not predeterminate (as Jonah learns and complains of, 3:10-4:1) but allows, in fact demands, a human response on which the outcome is conditional. 'Response' is a key word here, for I think the point of the Israelite stubbornness to evil is to illustrate the human proclivity for enslavement of the self to the self when man is left to his own devices. Jeremiah's lament for the Jews identifies the problem in terms of the exodus journey; "Obey my voice," God told them,

and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you. But they harkened not, nor inclined their ear, but walked in the counsels and in the imagination of their evil heart, and went backward, and not forward (7:23-4).

By rejecting divine interference, they 'walk backward' as if towards Egypt, whose reality they see mirrored in the godless spies' vision of Canaan, a vision of selfhood "in the imagination of their evil heart." Certainly the godless respond in some sense to their vision and appear to take some action on account of this, but the circumstances show that in reality they are failing to respond to the promise offered them because they have become trapped within a solipsistic world and can only give way to their own desires or imaginings.

Experience suggests that choice normally involves some kind of deliberation,² but the role of such activity in the normal threshold event seems unclear. Certainly between the vision and the response room is left for it, but usually we are not given psychological insights. Christ's agony in the garden is the closest the Bible ever comes to revealing such mental activity,

and in the Old Testament the process of choosing is either passed over in silence or perhaps expressed not psychologically but metaphorically. The wandering that precedes a Wilderness theophany, for example, suggests an external metaphor of conscious or perhaps unconscious deliberation in the same way that aimless, frustrated meandering through a labyrinth can represent mental confusion and bewilderment. Similarly, before crossing the Jabbok river to meet his brother, whom he apparently supposes to be enraged, Jacob 'wrestles' with a supernatural being in mysterious circumstances that suggest a kind of *psychomachia* (Gen 32:24-30).³ Moses' more verbal resistance to his calling is another example (Ex 3:11ff).⁴

In all cases the deliberation, the making-up of one's mind, implies the purificatory process with which we are centrally concerned. In the theophanic context deliberation means the formation of an identity from a mixed multitude and its consolidation. With that in mind we can return to the Egyptian ordeal and perhaps see in the struggle of Israel with Egypt the human enactment of the Lord's choice. The Israelites are the 'chosen people' and are therefore the ones who must repeatedly echo that original choice by showing themselves equal to it. Again, as Moses says to his people on the boundary of the Promised Land (where choice is always symbolically made), "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live" (Deut 30:19).

In the present context, judgment, the third element in the threshold event, means separation.⁵ It is implicitly accomplished by the choice for good or against it but is realized by the figure of the divine judge, he who separates

the sheep from the goats or the wheat from the tares at the right time. The metaphors of organic development culminating in harvest are a biblical favourite, and they are worth our brief attention here. God properly figures as the farmer who initiates and terminates, creatures as his plants that develop to ripeness, when he harvests them and separates the useful from the useless. Plants can only respond and, under the difficult conditions presupposed, cannot grow without his husbandry; or, if they are weeds evilly mixed with the good plants, they are suffered to grow until the time of separation. He awaits the proper moment of harvest, but since he is also figured in the elements and conditions that largely determine this moment (saving the plant's response, presumed free), the proper moment is his, the "day of the Lord" (Joel 2:1; etc.).

As we have seen, any attempt to initiate action or to arrive at its goal prematurely is demonic in the biblical terms, so that patient waiting is often the only possible response. Divine freedom is preserved by the unpredictability of the moment chosen for judgment. In the exodus, negative judgment is sometimes an action, as in the punishment of Korah's rebellion or of Sodom's wickedness, but the reader's frequent feeling that the godless get what they deserve, crude as it may be, points to the fundamental form of divine punishment, a withdrawal of divine favour, as in the abandonment of Israel to its own natural impotence, the land to its preformal bareness, the earth to its submarine chaos, and so forth. The Red Sea is parted for Israel, but when Egypt attempts to cross, the Lord's creative *restraints* on the waters are removed and Egypt becomes what it already is. Even in the case of Sodom, the Lord's fire, I suggested, is another form of the chaotic sexual heat

already burning up its inhabitants, and this 'reflection' of the one by the other exhibits the talion law we have seen at work in biblical punishments before. Since the punishment reflects the crime, the Narcissus vision that the wicked behold at the threshold is already a judgment, as I suggested before; in that sense the wicked judge themselves, and properly speaking the Lord's judgment is always redemptive.

I pointed out earlier that the biblical archetype reflects the whole in which it is embedded, and this tripartite threshold event is no exception. If we view the whole of the exodus at once, as one threshold event, then we can see that its three parts are a macroscopic version of what I have just described. The Egyptian phase is certainly a vision in the sense defined, an 'existential' experience through which identity is consolidated and revealed. The Wilderness, place of that wandering movement that is a metaphor of deliberation, is principally a place of choice, "whether they will walk in my law, or no" (Ex 16:4), as the Lord says at its beginning. The Promised Land, or whatever it is that the wanderers step into at the end of their journey, is judgment expressed as a place; like judgment it refers principally to its eschatological antitype, and through that reference we see once more the apocalyptic and joyous sense in which divine judgment is intended.

In the chapters that follow, the wanderer I am concerned with is not one to whom this joyous sense of judgment is accessible. The Satan of *Paradise Lost*, like the Chosen People of God, traverses the great "solitarie way" of the exodus I have described, but backwards: from the real and fully realized "fields of desire" into manifest demonic ruin that he converts into a parody

demonic kingdom, and from there across an endless and trackless waste towards a false promise of fulfillment that continually recedes before his grasp. At the point of his parody demonic 'victory' in the Fall of man, his evil enters the temporal world, and as Michael shows Adam, the "mixed multitude" of mankind then begins its long exodus of wandering from its secure womb-like nursery across the Wilderness of the world towards the true Promised Land. The structure of Satan's exodus, which is the structure of the exodus, allows him numerous thresholds of trial and judgment at which freedom is genuinely possible, but the Infernal Serpent is the Apostate, who has chosen to have no more choices and who, left to his own devices, consequently cannot do other than he does. Like the godless spies, his historical imitators, he judges himself according to the talion law, which in a sense is the only law left him. In the terms of classical mythology, fragments of him can be seen in Narcissus, Tantalus, and Daedalus, all of whom we find at metaphorical thresholds, of self-love, frustrated desire, and confused choice, as we will see.

The application of the material in the foregoing chapters to what follows is not easy or straightforward, but the complexity of the exodus structure both prepares us for the difficulties and shows us that they are resolved in a paradigm of fundamental simplicity. Like the biblical exodus, from a distance the topography of Satan's quest is quite simple--maps could and have been drawn of it--but up close each threshold reveals a microstructure imitating the whole and 'the mountains skip like rams, and the little hills like lambs' (Ps 114:4) as each judgment brings about a metamorphosis of vision. The 'repetition' of the archetypal paradigm in the events of Satan's exodus allows

us to approximate fairly the knowledge of all thresholds by examining only a few. In the close reading of *Paradise Lost* that this examination requires, we must (like Moses from his vantage point) keep our Pisgah-sight of the exodus, lest the vision that all the gritty detail comprises be obscured.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹ This is again an example of the shared, common life of a people, which is related to the idea of "corporate personality," for which see Robinson.

² Cf. *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.2.17.

³ Jacob identifies his opponent in verse 30. Speiser points to the transformation of Jacob in a "supreme test," or in my terms a threshold ordeal (255-7). The water-crossing, that is, his isolation from the trappings of ordinary life by means of the river, suggests an initiatory scenario, as does the ordeal at the hands of a mysterious agent of God.

⁴ Note also the curious ordeal at 4:24-6, where "the Lord met [Moses], and sought to kill him"; Gunkel compares Jacob's ordeal at the Jabbok with this incident (360-1), but note Childs' summary of the long and complex exegetical tradition regarding this passage (*The Book of Exodus*, 95-101). I would connect it with the testing of Balaam by the angel in Num 22:22-35.

⁵ Cf. Gk. *krísis* (decision, judgment, event, turning point of a disease), the usual NT word for Eng. 'judgment'; and the related *kríma*. The usual OT word is *mishpat* (judgment), which does not suggest 'separation' as directly, except in the event.

Chapter 5: An Egyptian Hell

Does the Devil take care of anything else but the Devil?
Know thyself, and never another.

Michel Serres, *The Parasite*, 251

When at the close of the poem Adam and Eve leave the paradise they have lost for the one "long wanderd man" will find, they take a way that is "solitarie" in a fourfold sense (12.313,649). First of all, it is the way of alienation in a world in which all men are alone, fundamentally separated from each other and from their God. With his "Associate sole," however, "hand in hand" as they leave the garden (9.227, 12.648), Adam is also alone (all-one) in her society and so walks a path solitary in a happier sense as well, and since it offers a way towards at-one-ment with God, the promised solitude is genuinely joyous. My concern in the following chapters is not directly with Adam and Eve, but the significance of my argument for *Paradise Lost* as a whole does rest on the fourth sense of the "solitarie way" they follow out of Paradise. Their way is solitary (the sole and unique way through the world) because in this intensely biblical epic it is the structure of all existence. This structure is what I have called the exodus.

As a paradigm the biblical exodus can be found in some form on all four levels of Milton's universe: in Heaven, where the angels engage in their quest through temptation to final perfection;¹ in Paradise, where Adam and Eve, created with their world out of chaos, wander about in a "Wilderness of sweets" towards promised union with God in Heaven (5.294);² in the fallen world, through which man undertakes the spiritual journey narrated in the

Bible and in the last two books of *Paradise Lost*;³ and in Hell, where the devils suffer an analogous process of perfection in their evil. For reasons of economy I have limited myself to a discussion of a few key incidents in the quest of Satan. Because the biblical paradigm is repetitive, however, these few should suffice to indicate the structure of the whole demonic quest; and because Satan's exodus traverses or reflects all the levels of Milton's poetic universe and provides the most diverse evidence, the reader should have little difficulty extrapolating my argument to the remainder of the poem.

I.

Before considering the evidence for biblical structure in Satan's quest, I need to indicate the basic unity of that evidence in a preliminary way. In the first chapter I discussed biblical allusions in the light of biblical structure but left the question of what this structure implies about the other kinds of material that mingle with the biblical. In *Paradise Lost*, for example, classical allusions bulk so large (larger, perhaps, than most of us now realize)⁴ as to raise the old issue of their proper function in this biblical epic,⁵ and since my ultimate aim is a unified principle for all the phenomena of the poem, I am obliged to answer this question directly.

Formerly I argued that because of the paradigmatic and repetitive nature of the biblical narrative, allusions to specific and to unspecific passages alike are points of contact with a larger context that is ultimately the whole Bible. Whatever else they may accomplish, such allusions evoke the biblical framework, and they thus at least potentially take on significance far greater

than their apparent size would suggest. The question is, however, what do they signify? I have said that they signify a paradigm, but now we must look more closely at what is meant by 'paradigm' in the context of material not formed under its historical influence.

If we think of the poem as a dynamic event, as something that comes into being in the reader's mind through reading and interpretation of the written text, then we may say that the paradigm these allusions evoke is not just an authoritative structure but something active, something that transforms the non-biblical stories and figures to which reference is made into analogies of itself, potentially giving them paradigmatic status as well as biblical form. Because of the nature of biblical structure, however, they are not mere analogies but more properly types of the biblical paradigm, so that their 'imperfections'--what in them is not perfectly homologous to their biblical antitypes--can be used to develop or elaborate that which is only implicit in the Bible.⁶ It follows, then, that everything within the scope of *Paradise Lost* is subsumed under the biblical framework, which then supplies what Robert Adams has called for, a "secure principle of controlling and co-ordinating what we already know" about *Paradise Lost*, a way of seeing the critical "forest of choking luxuriance" as a well-ordered and nourishing garden.⁷

At the beginning of *Paradise Lost*, Milton prepares his reader to understand the biblical context and paradigmatic nature of the classical material to follow by making three strategic allusions. The first and primary one is to the exodus, through the figure of Moses, and although he appears as the inspired teacher of the Chosen People, paralleling the poet's own role, the

reference is also an allusion to Moses' vocation "on the secret top / Of Oreb, or of Sinai" (1.6-7) to draw his people out of Egypt, constitute them a nation under the Law, and lead them through the Wilderness of trials towards their Promised Land. The second and third allusions, which occur in the epic question, refer to the corresponding parts of the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad*⁸ and evoke types of the exodus. With the force of paradigmatic statements they initiate a contrapuntal parallel between the biblical exodus on the one hand and the quests of the Virgilian and Homeric heroes on the other. We shall see that Milton, following the Latin tradition with Dante, uses the epic journey of Aeneas primarily to express fallen man's exodus from the ruins of his lost paradise across the wilderness of history (beset by an enemy who deflects but can never defeat him) towards a promised restoration,⁹ and the Greek counterpart to portray the demonic exodus of Satan, who among all the heroes is most like Odysseus, "the man of many devices, who wandered full many ways after he had sacked the sacred citadel....many the woes he suffered in his heart upon the sea, seeking to win his own life and the return of his comrades" (Ody 1.1-5).¹⁰ We are thus told at the very beginning that the story of the Fall of man will be shadowed in the story of the fall of Troy,¹¹ and we will see evidence of the care with which Milton realized the one in terms of the other.

Among the most useful of the 'shadows' brought to *Paradise Lost* by the classical epics and myths is the complex of metaphors concerned with what happens at boundaries and thresholds. I remarked earlier that this concern appears to have been a classical preoccupation. It is found, for example, in the rites of city-foundation and destruction,¹² which involve the

establishing, achieving, and breaking of conditional entry to a sacred place (that is, the construction and penetration of a labyrinth)--as at Troy. When used as types of the biblical threshold event, as they are in Milton's epic, the metaphors derived from these rites illuminate the labyrinthine nature of the exodus and thus clarify what happens to Satan and others in *Paradise Lost*. The same preoccupation also comes out in certain myths, episodes, and figures that tend to cluster about Satan's threshold events, either as explicit allusions or as implicit analogies, present in all but name. Narcissus, for example, is among the most significant, although he is never named.¹³ The fundamental homology of his experience to the negative vision of self-knowledge that we saw typified in the godless spies' "evil report" of the Promised Land nevertheless gives a name to a biblical event and develops some of its implications; hence I call the phenomenon of self-reflection at a threshold a 'Narcissus vision.' The nature of this vision as a trial or temptation is further defined, as we will see, by such figures as Daedalus and the Gorgon, both variously concerned with amazement and with the warding off or turning aside of evil¹⁴--processes which for Satan happen at thresholds--and by the figure of Tantalus, whose frustration of desire is also a kind of threshold event paralleling what happens to Satan and to the Israelite wanderers.¹⁵ Put within the framework of a quest, these 'myths of conditional entry' (as we could call them) thus become types of the biblical exodus, and this is just how Milton uses them.

The particular myths of conditional entry I have identified with Satan anticipate my argument that the reality of his threshold crossings is very different from their appearance. We will see that although Satan is apparently

successful (as, for example, when he leaps over the wall of Paradise or when he seduces Eve), in reality he suffers profound failure and downward metamorphosis at each of his many thresholds. Unlike what Aeneas achieves at Cumae with the Sibyl's help (where, the reader will recall, he manages to break away from the labyrinth diagram left by Daedalus and from other delusive distractions),¹⁶ Satan's crossings are thus fundamentally unsuccessful.¹⁷ Like the faithless spies of the exodus and like Narcissus before his pool of self-reflection, at the threshold of choice Satan can choose only projected images of himself and therefore progresses ever deeper into the Hell within him.¹⁸ As *Paradise Lost* will bear out, his typical threshold experience, a 'Narcissus vision,' allows us to see in some detail what the Bible reveals far more sparingly and indirectly: the ordeal of the godless at the moment of trial and judgment. In this and the following chapters I will show exactly how Satan's experiences conform to the Narcissus vision, and how this mythologem fits into the framework of the exodus.

II.

We have seen that the exodus requires a typological habit of mind, by which I mean here the ability to envision the whole course of history and each significant event within it in terms of the same archetype, so that every significant event is potentially a threshold crossing, and every threshold crossing anticipates--or in one sense is--the final one into the Promised Land. Among other things this means that the exodus is simultaneously a metaphorical landscape of three distinct stages (Egypt, Wilderness, Promised Land); the shape of each individual stage; and the shape of each threshold

within the stages. Thus the biblical 'map' we apply to *Paradise Lost* must be continually modified with the changing conditions of the quest--without, however, discarding earlier versions.

For these reasons Hell cannot be assigned, for example, exclusively to the metaphorical Egypt (in fact Hell participates in all three stages in various ways), but neither can the obvious correlation be ignored: clearly Hell is an Egypt, Chaos a Wilderness, and the unfallen cosmos a Promised Land, ripe for the taking. Only later, however, is Hell envisioned a settled and prosperous realm like the Egypt first seen by the Israelites. The devils' descent into the captivity of Hell suggests more precisely an initial affinity between Hell and the desolated apostate kingdom, like the manifest demonic Egypt revealed in the plagues. Thus we begin with an Egyptian Hell in its manifest or undifferentiated state, resembling either a primeval Wilderness--a kind of chaos preceding the parody demonic creation of Pandaemonium--or something like the kingdom of Isaiah's Lucifer, swept with "the besom of destruction" and made "a possession for the bittern, and pools of water" (14:23). We begin, that is, in a place that is both an Egypt and a Wilderness.

Two perspectives on this undifferentiated place of desolation are superimposed here. From Satan's point of view, he and his kind are like the murmuring Israelites, who had to flee from their prosperous and settled home because of a sudden change of rulers (so Satan thinks), who are possessed by nostalgia, and who therefore set about choosing, in Milton's paraphrase of Num 14:4, "a captain back for Egypt";¹⁹ indeed, Heaven and its ruler appear to the devils in 'Egyptian' form. From the divine perspective, however, Heaven is not

a settled order but a heavenly Wilderness of trial and perfection, so that the fallen angels, punished for adherence to Satan's perverse vision of the Son, recall those chosen wanderers who given a glimpse of the Promised Land see only tyranny and oppression, and are therefore condemned to a labyrinthine Wilderness of death. Although both perspectives identify Hell initially with the Wilderness, they differ significantly in the context which they give it. The latter reveals the Burning Lake to be the final and unchangeable reality for the devils; though in the background through most of the poem, this revelation remains an eternal judgment and is the ultimate basis for the many images of stasis and endless repetition that characterize Satan's apparent progress. The former, a demonic parody of its heavenly original, is the imagining of Satan's own 'evil heart' that he chooses to follow (cf. Jer 23:17), apparently thwarting the divine plan, i.e., the exodus. Ironically, however, that plan turns out to be the structure of his own path and the means by which unchanging reality is actualized.

At first, Hell is the Burning Lake with whatever can be seen from it, and its characteristics give us a first glimpse of how the exodus will unfold. The principal attributes of the Lake are its labyrinthine nature and its twofold fusion of Wilderness with Deluge imagery and of the Deluge with the fire of punishment and purification. Its labyrinthine shape and effect appear in the metaphors of circular or spiral movement, paralysis, and associated desolation; the overall effect is of an external projection of the confusion--the mental labyrinth--in which the devils are metaphorically confined. Satan and Beelzebub are in several places rolling, writhing, weltering bodies whose tortuous movement is a dynamic form of the static labyrinth, and they are

vexed by whirlwinds of the same kind.²⁰ Paradoxically, movement within the labyrinth can be a form of fixity, either as movement bound to converge on stasis at the centre or as movement to no purpose or end, hence a kind of paralysis.²¹ The Lake and Hell seen from it are just such places of paralysis: the hellish comrades are in a "Dungeon horrible" (1.61), a "Prison ordain'd / In utter darkness" (71-2), and a "Pit" (91), "where peace / And rest can never dwell" (65-6); and they themselves "thralls / By right of Warr" (149-50) who "dwell / In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire" (47-8). The inner thralldom is made explicit through Satan's obdurate pride and fixed purpose, locked with the rest of the devils into a course of parody action, "ever to do ill" (160) their sole delight: "Warr hath *determin'd* us" (2.330), Beelzebub says later.

The "dungeon" and "pit" metaphors recall Joseph's descent into Egypt and thus Egypt itself as a place of confinement from which the exodus will proceed. The "dismal Situation" (60) of "horrid silence" (83) and "utter darkness" (72),²² together with several other metaphors I will examine, further suggests Egypt in the deepest darkness of the plagues, and the comparison of Hell to "one great Furnace" (62) links it to the enduring image of Egypt and one of its principal archetypes, the "iron furnace" (Deut 4:20; etc.).

I will return to the metaphors of fire and furnace, but while considering the image of the desolated apostate kingdom we need to note the implicit role Satan and his vanquished crew have in this typically biblical setting: they are comparable to the shadowy beasts of the wasteland, lurking in the labyrinthine ruins, whose dissolving reality is represented in the murkiness

of their identities (cf. Isa 13:21; etc.). Satan and his fellows begin in such a murky state, confused amidst confusion, and I will shortly consider what their apparent recovery from it signifies and how the poet shows their recovery and progress to be only apparent. The "penal Fire" (48) of their initial state, like the "one great Furnace," hints at that significance through the metamorphic power of fire, but first it yields a compound image of thralldom and burning that points again to the desolated habitation, this time an analogy of the plagued Egypt remembered not exclusively but perhaps most usefully for us in the second *Aeneid*, where we see the enslaved or dying inhabitants amidst the burning city of Troy, already possessed by the creatures of nightmare. Hell is, in fact, a demon-possessed city in a profound and, perhaps, surprising sense, in that the devils by the talion principle are their own agents of destruction.

The idea of a 'watery Wilderness' such as the poet depicts is a biblical metaphor (cf. Ex 13:18), and it leads us back to the central notions linking the disparate states of deluge and desert in the Bible. Both primeval sea and Wilderness are labyrinthine and both places of dissolving form, but more significantly, in the exodus they are images of separation: the Red Sea, for example, of the Israelites from the Egyptians; and the Wilderness, of the godly from the godless Israelites. The devils thus appear on the Lake simultaneously as the drowned army of Pharaoh and as the carcasses of the 'Egyptian' Israelites fallen in the Wilderness,²³ but more is implied than the obvious fact that they have been separated. The opening scene of the poem, in which we see Satan "Hurld headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie" (45), is a statement of what happened, but it is more essentially a metaphor of Satan's

eternal present, a statement of what *happens* at every threshold of his exodus. The images of water and fire combined in the description of the Lake help define this separation by evoking its two cosmic and apocalyptic occurrences in the Bible.

Let us first consider the images of water. Throughout the poem Satan is an agent or being of water, that is, of the waters of death that take their most significant form in the Deluge that washes away the garden and thus completes the work of the Fall.²⁴ Satan's identification with the Deluge thus includes the biblical image of the sea monster who is the raging sea and flooding river, and this the poet confirms in his comparison of Satan, the "infernal Serpent" (34), to Leviathan (201), the "crooked serpent" or *serpens tortuosus*,²⁵ in whom is both labyrinth and waters of death. If Satan is the Lake on which he floats, then in the manifest demonic sense he never leaves it, though it leaves Hell 'in' him; but more to the point, all of the attributes of the Lake are therefore Satan's. Further, if the Lake is fundamentally a place of separation, then Satan is a being of separation: like Moses, whom he parodies at length, Satan is the unwilling agent of God who 'draws out' or separates and purifies man, and he is also the one who is 'drawn out' or purified at each threshold of his journey.²⁶

In context the imagery of fire, like that of water, suggests the eschatological annihilation of the world, which makes the Burning Lake thus doubly destructive;²⁷ but the "fervent heat" of the end of the world (2 Pet 3:10) is also, and here more fundamentally, the fire that "shall try every man's work" (1 Cor 3:13), that is, the fire of separation. Hell is generally a

place of fire and shares that metaphor with Egypt, Sodom, and other such places that are identifiable with the metaphorical Egypt of the exodus, to which the poet refers in his description of Hell:

The dismal Situation waste and wilde,
A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great Furnace flam'd...(1.60-2)

Earlier I suggested in a note that "dismal" refers to the *dies mali* of the Egyptian plagues, when godly and godless were separated. Likewise, Satan's recollection of the "Sulphurous Hail" that rained down from the heavenly pursuers when the devils fell (1.171) and drove them to the "fiery Surge" (173) alludes to the plague of "hail, and fire mingled with the hail" (Ex 9:24) that in part prepared the godless Egyptians for their final separation in the Sea. The furnace metaphor, pointed by references to "ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd" (1.69),²⁸ suggest the symbolism of metallurgy and alchemy, which though readily connected with the demonic (as later, in the building of Pandaemonium) takes a different turn in the present context. This difference is suggested in a syntactical ambiguity put into the mouth of Beelzebub, who questions God's purpose; the real question is, who is working and what is being worked?

...what e'er his business be
Here in the heart of Hell to work in Fire,
Or do his Errands in the gloomy Deep....(1.150-2)

By nature and situation the devils always speak truer than they purpose, so that the image in the first two lines--God the divine metallurgist working the

devils in his furnace, refining the universal dross--survives its possible contradiction in the third. The irony is confirmed by another, for as we find out later, Milton's devils, like the biblical tyrant nations, are agents of God engaged ultimately in their own annihilation as well as in the perfection of man. *That* is their errand in the deep, and thus the two seemingly contradictory senses in the above lines are in deeper accord.

The reader will recall that the labyrinth is essentially not a particular shape but the manifestation of conditional entry expressed in terms of a winding path, and that the 'condition' or ordeal of passage implies the judgment and transformation of the quester. The metaphor of separation applied to the Lake in the images of water and fire likewise implies this ordeal of perfective transformation, so that the Lake is in three ways a threshold of the type I am considering. Yet because Satan *is* the Lake metaphorically, the labyrinthine threshold of water and fire is not just something he must pass through or escape--as he apparently does--but more fundamentally an external image of himself, a Narcissus vision. His comparison to Leviathan in part suggests this, but full confirmation follows, first in the colloquy with Beelzebub and then in the summoning of devils and their epic catalogue. Let us now consider the first of these.

When his sight begins to adjust to the "darkness visible" of Hell (1.63),²⁹ Satan "soon discerns" Beelzebub (78), but various verbal clues tell us that it is really himself that he sees reflected in Beelzebub, who is "weltring by his side / One next himself in power, and next in crime" (78-9),

...he whom *mutual league*,
United thoughts and counsels, *equal* hope,
And hazard in the Glorious Enterprize,
Joynd with me once, now misery hath *joynd*
In *equal* ruin....(87-91)

Satan's cry of recognition echoes Aeneas' at seeing the ghost of Hector, whose visage portends the ruin of Troy, in a dream (Aen 2.270ff), and the allusion brings to Satan's vision of similar ruin--an image beheld in a lake, like that of Narcissus--the unreality of both ghost and dream.³⁰ Narcissus on seeing his own image enters a world of shades and illusions, and it is just so with Satan, as the imagery of his exodus will repeatedly emphasize. His response to the vision--that is, how he chooses to respond--indicates even more clearly what the vision means to him and what course he intends to take. His choice is typical of all such responses at all such moments:

...yet not for those [dire Arms],
Nor what the Potent Victor in his rage
Can else inflict, do I repent or change,
Though chang'd in outward lustre; that fixt mind
And high disdain, from sense of injur'd merit...
...the unconquerable Will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield...(1.94-9, 106-8)

However inevitable, Satan's fateful choice on seeing his own doom engraved in his mate's face and his hardened resolve (reminding us of Pharaoh, similarly plagued and hardened) prevent that yielding repentance which later in the poem is compared to the upward metamorphosis of stony hearts into regenerate flesh (11.1-5). Satan is not without a kind of virtue here, but the classical

modality of his strength, later echoed by Beelzebub and Belial, reveals its fundamental weakness in this biblical setting, for it is the virtue of such heroes as Scaevola the assassin and Odysseus the plunderer of Troy and homesick wanderer.³¹ Beelzebub's effect on Satan suggests the function of this vision to the arising Fiend: his face is not just a self-image but a revelation of the gorgonian type, that is, an apotropaic device of conditional entry. As the Lake is a threshold and "yon dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde" (180) the first goal of his quest (cf. 1.183-91), so is his mate's face the horrible object that makes him fit for the grim land that opportunity appears to promise. By 'apotropaic' I mean the 'turning aside' of evil by entrapment in an object or world of projected desire; what this means will become apparent in what follows.

Before considering "yon dreary Plain" on which Satan fastens his first hope, we can clarify the nature of demonic projection of desire by looking briefly at perhaps the most common Narcissus vision the devils have: the form in which God appears to them. As in Blake's commentary on Job,³² the fearful Almighty against whom they fulminate is a demonic self-projection. He often has the lineaments of *Juppiter Tonans*, thundering Jupiter, with his *Dírae*, or "dire Arms" (e.g., 1.94) and various other ministers of vengeance, and at least once he becomes a bull-god bellowing after the devils through the deep (1.177). Blessington notes that Satan's God is "the crudest of classical godheads" (4), and Lieb that "in the council each of the fallen angels characterizes God according to the peculiarities of his own fallen nature" (140), such as Belial, who imagines a slothful God, and Mammon, who implies a imitative one (*Dialectics of Creation*, 139-41). The demons' God is plainly

made in their image, especially in the image of Satan, the archetypal accuser and tyrant, whose subjects are his "thralls / By right of Warr" (149-50). Thus self-enthralled Satan can truly say "my self am Hell" (4.75), though for various reasons he does not verbalize that realization directly until later. We are certainly not to think that divine vengeance and the terrible thunder are illusions within Satan's mind (we hear of them from more reliable sources), but to conclude that the devils' knowledge of God must be understood in terms of their limited powers of comprehension,³³ of which the Narcissus complex is a metaphorically precise form. As Irene Samuel remarks, demonic mentality inheres in "the self-projection that decides for God what God must know, feel, think, and so thrusts him off into the role of 'punisher'" (248). The envisioning of divine wrath in demonic lineaments is anchored, I have suggested, in the biblical metaphor of the godless enemy who in prophetic sight is God's scourge of the wicked, so that the devils' hallucinations have a divine purpose, as they did for the Egyptians in the plagues.

The "dreary Plain" may not seem a likely Promised Land, but the objection is answered in the fact of the hope itself and, shortly afterwards, by the construction of Pandaemonium, which involves a process of reclamation parallel to that practiced by the invading Israelites in Canaan. Structurally, this sighting of his dubious harbour of rest (1.185) is a demonic Pisgah-sight, that is, a tempting vision of peace never obtained. A demonic exodus leads us to expect a demonic Moses, whom we see explicitly later on, but here, apart from the implicit presence of his godless aspect (rising from the water to possess the archetype of Egyptian glory, then to lead his people from it), we have the suggestion of another, complementary figure. Though mentioned in the

poem only once by name (2.614), Tantalus is an essential type of the demonic,³⁴ and a classical counterpart to the demonic Moses. More significantly, he like Narcissus is one who reaches for but never obtains the fulfillment of his desire. As we see him in Tartarus, Tantalus has no choice but suffers in perpetual judgment; Satan, however, is at the first of many genuine thresholds in his exodus and has many choices to make and metamorphoses to suffer before he will be reduced to Tantalus' kind of compulsive grasping in front of the tree of ashen fruit at the endless end of his exodus. Nevertheless, Tantalus' shadowy presence is worth noting for a clarification of the general pattern of Satan's behaviour; in fact, the one place where his name is mentioned--at the minor devils' crucial scene of frustration before the Lethean water of oblivion--is a concentrated emblem of all Satan's threshold crises.³⁵

In the present context Tantalus is, of course, something perhaps more properly called an 'archetypal analogy' than an allusion: no explicit or direct reference is made to him, but he is present in Satan because both are the same kind of thing, and in the biblical world of the poem Satan subsumes all members of his kind. We saw earlier that by employing classical myths as analogues for biblical stories, the poet has conferred on the myths something close to the paradigmatic, archetypal status of Scripture. This status then intensifies the common technique of referring to a literary antecedent of a figure or event by an implicit parallel. Thus, since Tantalus, when viewed from Milton's biblical perspective, is not just another figment of the classical imagination but a type of Satan, his 'shadow' is bound to follow Satan everywhere. The reason I gave why Tantalus is not explicitly alluded to

depends fundamentally on the typological idea of gradual revelation, and this idea suggests as well that between the archetypal analogy and the allusion are many intermediate forms of reference. In what follows I will not be concerned with the various kinds and degrees of reference (they resist precise classification) so much as with the fact of reference itself.

Arising from the Lake Satan assumes a shape monstrous and architectural shape that connotes both the threat to unfallen man and the judgment Satan implicitly receives at this threshold. "With Head up-lift above the wave, and Eyes / That sparkling blaz'd" (1.193-4), his shape recalls those other infernal serpents who came across the sea to defeat Laocoon, defender of Troy (Aen 2.199-227), and who therefore presage its fall. This allusion, Harding remarks, evokes the "atmosphere of fascinated horror" from Virgil (*Club of Hercules*, 53-4), but both fascination and horror derive their power from the sense of fatal portent, which Milton underscores by making another allusion to the same passage later, when Satan in the Serpent attacks Eve (9.495ff; Blessington, 59). The second allusion is a poetic antitype of the first, showing us exactly how the threat is to be focused, but here at the beginning the portent of the Fall of the defended precinct is no less serious and no less powerful, and it gains a certain kind of power from being appropriately murky. Moreover, the first rearing-up of evil, newly hardened in resolve though yet unfocused in intent, is the type of all subsequent uprisings, as the poet notes: from the forceful rebellion of Titan or Earth-born on Jove or the volcanic upheavals of imprisoned Briareos and Typhon (198-9; cf. Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 57ff) to the more guileful attack of the garden serpent on Eve. The total effect is, as it were, to place Paradise on the shores of

Hell--not the Paradise Adam and Eve are enjoying, but the manifest demonic form of the "Assyrian Garden" (4.285) Satan makes of it--and so to reveal at the outset the Promised Land Satan actually achieves.

Among the company of threatening monsters cited to identify Satan, great Leviathan bulks the largest (1.200-8). His portrait as the false[#] seeming² island afloat in the sea has cosmogonic echoes (cf. Job 38-41), deftly suggesting the containing monster of death identifiable with the world as demonic kingdom (as in Jonah), to which only the foolish anchor their lives, "while Night / Invests the Sea" and mankind's heavenly morn delays (207-8). Milton's words also translate Virgil's description of the malevolent elements that attack Aeneas' ship, when "ponto nox incubat atra" (1.89), and so connect the threatened mariner with Aeneas, type of fallen man, of whom Job and Jonah are relevant examples.

Leviathan, the theriomorphic labyrinth, is followed by its architectural equivalent as the flames of the fiery waters of death "Drivn backward slope thir pointing spires" (223). The word "spires" is a clue: its various senses evoke the images of a cathedral or temple-tower, of a tongue of flame, of the convolutions of a spiral, and of the folds or windings of a serpent (*OED*). The allusion is not specific, but it is one of the first of many that draw upon the metaphorical complex to which the biblical Tower of Babel belongs. Throughout the poem, Milton uses the image of the Tower to clarify not only the folly of demonic eros but also fallen man's evil bent (derived from Satan) for the worship of gorgonian idols, the visible symbols of false nobility and power.³⁶ The imagery of false nobility,³⁷ usually vested in heraldic dress,

comes to its clearest shape in the Serpent's assault on Eve, when the imagery of ascendant desire and confused speech belonging to Babel fuses with that of the Trojan Horse in the capturing of Eve's mind. Here the suggestion of the Tower is followed by the image of rolling billows, as if the watery labyrinth of Satan's prone condition, propelled by his volcanic eros, has extended itself heavenward into a watery temple-tower. I will return to such imagery later; for now it is sufficient to note the juxtaposition of surging sea with arising tower.

The land on which Satan first alights, his first Promised Land, itself constitutes a Narcissus vision, and it is the locus of a threshold event which hardens and perfects him further. In arising from the Lake as Briareos and Typhon and as an uprush of chthonic fire (momentarily, as it were, hardened into the Tower), Satan is clearly a volcanic figure like the land on which he alights, explicitly compared to the "fewel'd entrals" (234) ignited by a volcanic explosion.³⁸ Satan is frequently associated with volcanic activity in the poem, so it will be useful to get some idea of what his volcanic attributes are and what they tell us about him. The reader will recall that in the Bible the Lord not only appears on mountain summits but also is himself identified with the mountain or "rock" providing security against the forces of chaos beneath. Sinai, with its numinous firestorm at the summit, makes a particularly instructive contrast to the demonic volcano, for although both are burning mountains, the fire of the former comes down from above, whereas the fire of the latter comes up from the infernal regions beneath, and we have dealt sufficiently with the events at Sinai to know how the Bible construes these two opposed movements. Furthermore, we have seen that in metaphor the

subterranean regions are normally identified with the earth mother's womb, in which minerals are embryos slowly gestating towards perfection, so that a volcanic explosion would logically be not a liberating birth of that which has reached its term but a premature, abortive one. Satan is thus a perfect volcano: his thoughts and movements from the beginning are characterized by an apostate upsurge of ambitious desire, and they are all abortive because they are essentially premature or ill-timed. In the appropriate metaphorical environment (such as before the "Kingly Palace Gate" of Heaven, or on the sun, before the radiant Uriel) Satan assumes the shape of Phaethon, Ovid's prime figure of premature and disastrous attempt on the divine state,³⁹ but the identity of these two is more than merely local. Like Phaethon, Satan is someone who cannot wait, who when God "tempted our attempt" (1.642) responded, as Beelzebub proposes later, suddenly, with "opportune excursion" and "advantagious act" (2.396, 363) to seize the glory due to him as to all in the fulness of time (cf. Gal 4:4), but not before.

The "fewel'd entrals" of this land is an anatomical metaphor that suggests in part an infernal womb (1.234),⁴⁰ but it is important to see that the reference is more to viscera in general. Later contexts, such as the birth of Sin (2.752-8), the cannon of heavenly war (6.584-94), and Death's ravenous appetite (10.579-601, 630-7), resolve the parturient from the priapic and digestive aspects of this violent, traumatic coming forth, but they are all gathered here in potential.⁴¹ Satan's first impressive act of apparent self-liberation is thus redolent of something not just premature but also horribly messy, as of a violent corporeal disintegration, and this redolence helps establish the metaphorical counterpoint, for example, to the parody demonic

glory of Pandaemonium and of Satan, whom we have just seen foreshadow the archetypal temple-tower Pandaemonium will manifest. Its musical evocation, like Satan's impressive uprising, conceals yet reveals the evisceration of evil's body. It is significant for my purposes that the images of evisceration precede its apparent integration in the gathering and roll-call of devils to follow, and that this metaphorical evisceration (viscera being inherently labyrinthine) is an apt image of labyrinthine dissolution.

The poet's extended metaphor of volcanic explosion specifically refers to the great volcanoes of Pelorus and Actna,⁴² which among other things recall Aeneas' voyage into the "angusti...claustra Pelori," "the straits of narrow Pelorus" created by a violent upheaval that tore Italy and Sicily apart (Aen 3.411-17).⁴³ Although Aeneas avoids Scylla and Charybdis at the north end of this barrier (a gate of conditional entry, as the *Odyssey* shows and the volcanic viscera imply),⁴⁴ he is blown to the Cyclopean shores near thundering Aetna, which vomits forth its uptorn entrails (571-7) just as Polyphemus vomits forth the gore of his victims (632-3),⁴⁵ and which Anchises identifies with Charybdis itself (558). Virgil completes the metaphorical identification of the volcano with the demonic giant by placing Titanian Enceladus under it (578-82). In other words Satan's shore, a labyrinthine "singed bottom all involv'd / With stench and smoak" (PL 1.236-7),⁴⁶ is, like the Pelorean gate of conditional entry, a threshold that quickly resolves into a vision of visceral horror. In *Paradise Lost* the "seat of desolation" (1.181), meaning both source and den, thus provides a Narcissus vision of what we can call the Devourer, like the Promised Land of the faithless spies (Num 13:32).

How much of the horror Satan realizes when he takes possession of his first Promised Land, the burning marl of the hellish shore, is not entirely clear, but his choice is unambiguous, and the judgment that follows plainly indicated. Of course this 'choice' is in one sense no choice at all--he must now accept Hell and make what he can of it--but the formal, structural presence of choice is nonetheless significant, for again it constitutes his own response to the threshold vision, and however predictable or compulsive, his choices are his own and are in that way 'free.' In the present instance his choice reveals the consequent metaphorical transformation or judgment in a self-portrait, as is frequently the case; Satan describes himself, the hardened self he is ever more thoroughly becoming:

...One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is its own Place, and in it self
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
What matter where, if I be still the same....(1.252-6)

The passage is full of ironies, not the least of which is indicated throughout the larger context by the cumulative assonant echoing of *change*, *changed*, *changing*, *chained*, *chains*,⁴⁷ connecting Satan's resolved fixity with the downward metamorphosis and self-enslavement he suffers. Ideal fixity and timeless permanence, at least in the simple-minded way Satan appears to conceive them, are not attributes of either a biblical or a Miltonic Paradise. All levels of Milton's biblical universe are permanent only in their unchanging structure (what I have called the exodus), which the quester experiences as a perfective process.⁴⁸ Satan's fixity is, then, evidence of a

continuing centripetal metamorphosis, the 'hardening of heart' or movement towards paralysis we have already observed; and as fixity the apparently heroic resolve against the universal movement towards perfection implies a downward change of the opposite kind: his permanence does not exist, so that by identifying himself with it he becomes less real and ever more the quasi-creature of nightmare. This aspect of his development we will observe in several images identifying Satan with the world of dreams and enchantments.

The collapse of illusory promise into real horror, Satan's acceptance of that horror, and his projection of unfulfilled desire to a farther place--in this case, significantly backwards to his associates "astonisht on th' oblivious Pool" (266)--exhibits the threefold structure of the biblical threshold event in its typically demonic form. This is essentially the structure 'repeated' (in the typological sense) numerous times throughout Satan's exodus, though the specific content and circumstances change. Because that change expresses typological development,⁴⁹ because Satan's history is biblical in form, further repetitions allow the reader to see the realities shadowed forth in the initial cycle of Satan's exodus. In fact what I have said about the first 263 lines of the poem is based on just such a typological reading, in which later developments reveal the significance of earlier hints, and those earlier hints establish the context, and therefore the significance, of their later developments. In a sense this is circular reasoning, but it is not vicious, because what it seeks is not confined to the plane of the circle, and therefore neither is the critical imagination. The vicious circle is entirely a demonic mental form, as Satan discovers.

III.

In preparation for what is to follow, I would like now to investigate in some detail the imagery of vicious circles, by which I mean the labyrinthine form of demonic mentality as we find it in *Paradise Lost*. To facilitate my investigation, I will first digress to consider some very basic patterns in the Bible, and then derive from them a tentative paradigm for application to the poem.

The reader will recall that the two creation accounts in Genesis and elsewhere depict two opposed but complementary kinds of movement, first a binding up or confinement, then a release or unbinding. Both are forms of creative energy traceable throughout the Bible, but since my subject is Satan I propose them here as the basic types of the parody demonic creation Satan believes he accomplishes and of the manifest demonic 'reality,' that is, the true non-being of the demonic. For reasons that may at the moment seem all too tenuous, I will characterize the binding movement of the first creation account by the image of a centripetal spiral or labyrinth of confinement; and the unbinding movement of the second by the corresponding image of a centrifugal spiral or labyrinth of dissolution.⁵⁰ I am not claiming that these images are universally associated with the forms of creative energy in the Bible nor that a spiral or labyrinth image can be found in the poem wherever the appropriate processes are at work. I propose them only as useful ways in which to classify what we do find in the poem, especially so because of the frequency of the labyrinth imagery there.⁵¹

I begin with an example from *Paradise Lost*. Within the first two books Satan and the devils develop from unfocused agents of main force to ones of subtle guile, a tendency which, however stupid and perverse he may be, Moloch correctly sees as implying a weakening of original angelic strength (2.51ff).⁵² On the one hand, loss of original strength and integrity suggests 'centrifugal' images of disintegration and dispersal (obverse of the water's release into the primeval desert in Genesis), as in the return to chaos figured in physical corruption, the Deluge, the littered corpses of the Wilderness wanderers, the unbinding of Jericho, and so forth. On the other hand, perfection in evil, which in the poem involves a narrowing of a progressively less diverse purpose and potential, suggests 'centripetal' images of concentration or restrictive binding (obverse of water's confinement and the emergence of dry land), as in the physical processes of condensation, of becoming dense, heavy, hard, rigid, or impenetrable. In the Bible, for example, sinful Israel is a "stiffnecked" people; Jericho, prior to its unbinding, a city tightly shut up; and Pharaoh, perfected by a 'hardening of heart,' becomes "as lead in the mighty waters" (Ex 15:10).

Including the apocalyptic originals of these two demonic types, we then have a fourfold structure of metaphor. Both the centripetal pattern, suggesting entry into something enclosed, and the centrifugal pattern, suggesting egress from an enclosure, can either ascend towards Heaven or descend towards Hell. In my biblical paradigm, the first two creation stories illustrate the former, ascending patterns of centripetal confinement and centrifugal release found throughout the Bible and in that part of *Paradise*

Lost I must largely ignore. Satan's exodus, as I have just said, illustrates the latter, descending movements in constant interplay, but he also parodies the apocalyptic forms and thus appears to ascend. This means we actually have a sixfold structure, but for purposes of simplicity I will speak of the fourfold design relevant to Satan's exodus, that is, the descents and parody ascents.

Satan's journey towards Paradise, for example, seems an ascending centripetal pattern, as through the labyrinthine windings of his quest the nucleus of his desire grows continually smaller and more distinct: from a generalized rage against everything above, his mind moves to a tight focus on the dimensionless core of Eve's mind. Yet by the metaphors clustered around the thresholds he crosses, we know that however much he may appear to ascend (either physically or otherwise) every threshold leads him further downward, deeper into the Hell with which he is identified. His entire journey, as we will see, is therefore a great catabasis into a lower world where the ghostly secret of his destiny resides.⁵³

As he moves in on his continually shrinking target, he himself shrinks in various ways, becoming more hardened to his purpose, and more truly concentrated in evil. Satan's shrinking, however, is also a weakening, a dispersal of strength and substance, and his consistent identification with the coming deluge of evil also shows the centrifugal pattern of dispersal and disintegration, confirmed by his covenant with Chaos, with whom (or with which) he becomes increasingly inseparable. Satan is the apparent cause of disintegration, but the non-being of evil suggests what the imagery bears out,

that he is as much or more the victim of it. He also parodies the apocalyptic form of centrifugal release, for example, as a demonic Moses vowing to lead his demon tribes from thralldom into a Promised Land of luxury, and as the liberator of man from confinement by divine law into the 'freedom' he promises.

If for the moment we forget that the ascending movements are parodic, the interplay of ascent and descent in Satan's exodus may remind us of the ancient notion (which we have seen alive in Virgil and still evident in Job) of the subterranean paradise, where the way up and the way down are one. Though the paradisaal garden of Adam and Eve is anything but subterranean, seen through Satan's eyes as one form of his Promised Land it is indeed a kind of Elysium, entered by means of a labyrinthine descent and identified with the body of just such a universal mother, who takes shape before Satan in Eve, as another form of her does earlier in Sin.⁵⁴ From the beginning the object of his quest, in whatever shape or relation to him, has chthonic associations: in Heaven, the minerals beneath the bright surface promise his victory; in Hell, the greatness of Pandaemonium, drawn up from the mineral-rich hill, his infernal glory; on earth, the subterranean passage into the garden his vengeance and thus triumph. Many other examples will come to light, but these should be sufficient to show that the external form of his desire is not only ultimately chthonic, but it is also a kind of enclosed space that desire compels him to penetrate and to undo, as Troy to the Greeks. To understand this further, we can consider the first threshold event of the epic action, when Satan becomes the first to view his Creator objectively, as something apart from and therefore opposed to himself. For this primal apostasy he is judged according

to the talion principle: he is banished to the state (cosmological Hell is its metaphor) from which Heaven is also something seen from the outside, an *object* of desire not possessed and therefore to be penetrated and regained. One notes that after the Fall Adam and Eve also assume this perspective,⁵⁵ though the regaining of what has been lost has a different meaning for them.

Once identity becomes thus defined in terms of an isolated apostate ego to which all else is external, several things happen which the fourfold structure will help elucidate. As the Narcissus metaphor shows, the self-lover's object of desire, his Promised Land towards which by definition one ascends, is a self-projection or reflected form of the ego that desires entry into it, as Satan does into the "Assyrian" garden (4.285), which by its name betrays what gardens are in Satan's sight, as I will argue in Chapter 7. Our structure shows, however, that along with the ascending desire to enter it comes the desire for concealment (a 'descending' movement away from the heavenly watcher into chthonic enclosures), as Satan manifests in numerous disguises and shifts, such as the labyrinthine (and archetypally chthonic) serpent by which further entry is effected. On the other hand, if the ego considers itself not as external to what is desired but as itself the isolated nucleus in an alien environment, then we get the corresponding centrifugal patterns, not of desire but of the complementary fear or paranoia: of exposure or of penetration by higher powers, or of a descending dissolution. As examples of these centrifugal visions one may cite Adam's view, from within his vain coverts, of a menacing and insufferably bright world whirling about above him (9.1082-98; cf. 5.618-24); and, complementing that, Satan's horror of the deep within himself opening wide to devour him (4.75-8).

In the investigation that follows, the reader will find the structure I have just briefly sketched a useful guide to the complexities of the threshold events. To continue the implicit spatial metaphor, this fourfold structure describes the paths that diverge from the threshold; or to put it in a slightly different way, they are the four essential forms that the threshold itself can take for Satan. As we saw with the two patterns of the biblical creation accounts, these forms can be considered elements in a sequence, or as different aspects of the same thing and therefore as simultaneously present, at least potentially, in each threshold event. As an example, the reader may recall my earlier comment that the first half of Satan's journey is on the surface an ascending centripetal pattern, beginning below with broad, ambitious design on a heavenly enemy above but progressively narrowing, as Satan ascends, until it culminates in an intense focus on Eve; and the second half forms the complementary descending centrifugal pattern, beginning precisely at the moment of demonic triumph but rapidly dilating as the effects of evil spread. Yet first and second halves as a whole also exhibit the opposite movements, to which we are alerted through a consistent undercurrent of metaphor, with which my reading of the poem will be directly concerned.

The reader may recall that in Chapter 1 I borrowed Edmund Jacob's metaphor of the continuous, three-dimensional spiral as a tentative model for biblical history, and in Chapter 3 argued the apocalyptic counterpart of the Tower of Babel in Jacob's "ladder." Yet, as I noted, the spiral is far too simplistic to tell us much about biblical history; besides the Bible nowhere uses it for that purpose, nor is there more than a hint in the biblical text that the

visionary staircase has that shape. The language of *Paradise Lost*, however, is densely analogical, and in several places we are invited to think of demonic mentality in terms of an eros that circles about its object and progresses in some sort of development, sometimes narrowing towards, sometimes dilating away from that object, but always compulsively driven. I do not wish to confer an ontological status on my fourfold structure but to suggest that what seemed inadequate as a model for biblical history is far more appropriate to demonic history, which is the history of confined, compulsive, and more truly repetitive movement. Again, a typological analogy expands the biblical vision, as we will see in what follows.

IV.

Perhaps the primary focus of Narcissus imagery in Hell is to be found in Satan's calling of his troops and in the epic catalogue of devils that follows. Turning back towards the Lake, Satan beholds his "faithful friends...thus astonisht on th'oblivious Pool" (1.264,6); as Beelzebub remarks, they are "Groveling and prostrate on yon Lake of Fire, / As we erewhile, astounded and amaz'd" (280-1).⁵⁶ As earlier, when Satan gazed at Beelzebub in the Lake and saw the "equal ruin," here even more clearly a Narcissus figure hangs over his own watery image, no one being fooled by Satan's supposed friendship and faith. The reader may recall from the story of Narcissus that the beholder is first captured by the self-reflecting vision and then transformed into that which he beholds, in Ovid's words an *imaginis umbra*, "a phantom of an image" (Met 3.434). Narcissus' metamorphosis into an infernal phantom gazing at his reflection in the Styx suggests both the

enthrallment and the descent into unreality that Satan undergoes when he sees and then chooses to summon the devils to himself. From Satan's perspective he is the one who has awoken and now awakes his fellows from the former stupefaction they all shared, but the Narcissus imagery suggests that his threshold vision is not of what he has been nor even of what he will be but most essentially of what he eternally is, though refracted into the diverse identities of evil named in the fallen world.

Aside from the lurking Narcissus, Satan on the shore is identified with three commanding, portentous figures, but not without irony. Like Satan Achilles strides along the shore, wrathful, crying a terrible cry to arouse the Achaean warriors and thus portending the fall of Troy,⁵⁷ the chief urban metaphor for the besieged cosmos in *Paradise Lost*. Satan's shield alludes to that of Achilles,⁵⁸ a massive moon-like emblem of the mutable (and therefore fallen) world, but viewing it as if from beneath the towering Satan, the shield also becomes the moon itself, arbitress of mutability, that Galileo viewed from within his ecclesiastical imprisonment (PL 1.287-91; cf. Il 19.374). As Milton saw the fallen state of man in his own blindness and perilous confinement amidst enemies (3.22ff; 7.25-8), so the reader can see in "the Tuscan artist" an image of man gazing up at the macranthropic body of evil by which all are imprisoned. Satan's great spear (1.292-5) in part continues the allusion to Achilles, whose huge spear no one else could shake (Il 19.387-91), but more significant is the link with the lopped-pine staff of the blinded Polyphemus--"monstrum horrendum, informae, ingens, cui lumen ademptum," "an awesome monster, shapeless, huge, bereft of light" (Aen 3.659)--which he like Satan uses "to support uneasie steps" (PL 1.295); and

perhaps we can detect a connection as well with Polyphemus' huge club, from which the crafty Odysseus (consistently in our poem a type of Satan) cuts a piece to poke out the monster's eye (Ody 9.319ff), for Satan's 'blindness' we know to be self-inflicted.

His summoning call indicates his choice after some period of apparent deliberation while enduring the fiery ordeal that "Smote on him sore besides" (1.298). Though we must look far ahead to see the consequences of this choice fully, by nature the threshold offers a vision of the present in which the future is concealed. According to the structure we saw earlier, the vision is actually fourfold. On the level of parody, Satan's demonic *fiat* to the abject and lost "covering the Flood" (312) mimics God's to the "darkness...upon the face of the deep" in Genesis 1:2, and its results parody creation's twofold sequence of ascending movements: first the centripetal, as those who have been amazed and scattered are awakened and gathered, and then--looking far ahead--the centrifugal, as the seeds of evil are scattered across the time and space of human history, a parody ascent because the devils thereby apparently increase in power and dominions. Though we do not see the spread of evil directly until Michael presents it in the visionary panorama to Adam, the poet gives us an early glimpse of what we already contain in our experience of the world when he names the assembled demons according to the chronicles of human idolatry (cf. 1.364-521).⁵⁹ In opposition to this parodic sequence of gathering and dispersal, however, is its manifest demonic original, a sequence of descending movements. The descending centripetal pattern comes out through the irony of Satan's deliberate summoning of the many shapes of evil, for by so doing he concentrates evil into a single macranthropic body, his own, which

then undergoes the perfecting defeat of his exodus.⁶⁰ The centrifugal counterpart follows in the aimless wandering of the devils in Hell after Satan's departure as well as in the gradual dispersal or weakening of Satan's might during his exodus. I will deal with each of these patterns at length in what follows.

Satan's parody of creation begins with an analogue of formless chaos, which we see in the comparison of the demonic legions to "Autumnal Leaves that strow the Brooks / In Vallombrosa" (1.302-3). This is a complex image, however. Etymologically, as Steadman has pointed out, "Vallombrosa" means "shadowy vale" and so alludes to "the valley of the shadow of death" in Ps 23:4, through which only the godly can pass unharmed (*Nature into Myth*, 191). Apparently centrifugal, the image also alludes to Virgil's spirits of the dead, thronging the Acheron in anguished desire for entry into the lower world (Aen 6.305-10),⁶¹ and so anticipates the centripetal gathering of the devils into Satan, through whom they gain their admission. Contained within its opposite, the parody demonic gathering is thus shown not just to begin in the state of chaos, in narrative sequence as in time, but to be coeval with it and to be the lesser or derivative of the two states, according to the biblical principle that the apparent might and splendour of evil is, in reality, desolation. Accordingly the place where these metaphorical leaves are strewn, Vallombrosa, is "where th' Etrurian shades / High overarch't imbowr" (303-4): just as Etruria was the source of superstition and pagan ceremonial to Rome,⁶² so Hell is to the earth, and subsequently summoned to 'life' in Hell, these demons are thus entering a lower world of enchantment and unreality, of dissolving mental form, of which they are about to be named the individual representatives.

The initial image of dissolution that Satan sees is placed into the framework of the exodus by the following comparison of the devils to "scatterd sedge" (304) that suggests fragments of the Egyptian army floating on the Red Sea (Heb. *yam suph*, Sea of 'Reeds' or 'Sedge'). As an analogy of the divine power Moses unleashed against the Egyptians we get the figure of Orion (305), a kind of meteorological giant⁶³ who personifies the punishing elemental forces of nature that "Hath vext the Red-Sea Coast, whose waves orethrew / Busiris and his Memphian Chivalry" (306-7).⁶⁴ The legendary connection of Orion with Nimrod,⁶⁵ an historical form of Satan (cf. Sandys, 61), illuminates his role here as a demonic agent by which the demonic itself is punished, according to the talion law implicit in any Narcissus vision.

What this satanic Narcissus sees in his "oblivious Pool" (1.266) is, then, a demonic Red Sea passage, but in reverse. The devils apparently come up from a watery annihilation to build Pandaemonium, the archetype of Egyptian splendour; it arises from the burning ground that is a biblical metaphor of the eschatologically desolated. We have seen that the demonic element appears throughout the biblical exodus: first in Pharaoh, then in the 'mixed multitude' of Wilderness wanderers, and finally in Moses himself. Since Satan personifies this element, he is Pharaoh,⁶⁶ the godless among that multitude, and the demonic or fallen aspect of Moses.⁶⁷ Thus he is both the defeated Pharaoh and the demonic Moses, parodying, as I noted before, 'the-one-who-draws-forth' his people from the watery kingdom:

....As when the potent Rod
Of Amrams Son in Egypts evill day
Wav'd round the Coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud

Of Locusts, warping on the Eastern Wind,
That ore the Realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like Night, and darken'd all the Land of Nile....(338-43)

In response to the Narcissus vision he has just seen, Satan calls down the plagues upon himself, or more accurately, the plague of himself upon himself.⁶⁸ The movement of the pitchy cloud, as of the rod that controls it, suggests in the significant form of a descending centripetal spiral coming to a focus on Satan, the binding up of this pharaonic devil in the plagues, and particularly the plague of "thick darkness" (Ex 10:22) in which, the author of *Wisdom* tells us, the terrified Egyptians saw and heard ghosts of their own making.⁶⁹ The "pitchy" quality of the cloud combines darkness, proverbial of pitch, with viscosity (thus a "thick darkness") and the closure of something sealed up⁷⁰--precisely the effect of the converging downward warp of the flying demons, all focused on Satan. When the towering Satan and the descending devils meet, they form the tight nucleus of organized evil characteristic of the apostate ego and, though the metaphor is not explicit, something like the seed vessel of all future ills, just as Noah's ark appears later as the seed vessel of all future life.⁷¹ Shortly, however, the spread of evil from this compressed gathering is compared to barbarian hordes pouring from the frozen loins of the North (1.351-5), and later we will see Hell, itself a sealed and womb-like container of ills, implicitly compared to Pandora's box. Volcanic imagery, suggesting a mineralogical parallel, occurs throughout the episodes in Hell (cf. MacCaffrey, 160-4).

In the epic catalogue that follows Satan's call, the devils, landed but not yet identified, emerge from their obscurity to receive his acceptance, approaching "singly where he stood on the bare strand" (379), and as they do we hear of their names, rites, and territories on fallen earth.⁷² Their physical convergence towards Satan suggests a metaphorical one: by accepting them he chooses to recognize and affirm the various aspects of evil they proleptically represent, so that he becomes, as we saw, the one body of evil, in parody of the *corpus mysticum*.⁷³ One recognizes without difficulty the typically threefold structure suitable to a threshold event--Satan's vision of the individualized evils, his choice or acceptance of each, and the judgment implied by the concentrating of evil within him--but one must look more closely to determine exactly what he sees, chooses, and therefore becomes. First I will consider the framework of the catalogue (the surrounding commentary and events) and then the list itself, to discover what common theme the various demons suggest.

The names of the demons give them national and therefore geographical identity, significant for us because geographical facts are the basis for the metaphorical landscape across which Satan's quest proceeds. The principal demons are Hebraic and the primary geography that of the Promised Land, across which we see them distributed, "numberless...under the Cope of Hell" (344-5) and on the "bare strand" (379) in demonic parody of God's promise to Abraham (cf. Gen 22:17; Heb 11:12). The spread of locations further imitates the biblical land-survey metaphor, so that the devils' approach to Satan constitutes a kind of demonic Pisgah-sight. Being demonic, however, this ~~slight~~ sight must also be a Narcissus vision. The gathering of devils, for example,

parodies the apocalyptic gathering of nations into restored Israel (cf. Isa 60; Ps 122:4), a type of the gathering of believers into the body of Christ (cf. Rev 21:24), suggesting that Satan here beholds the fragments of his greater self, whom he henceforth incorporates.

Confirmation of this gathering or unification of the demonic selfhood can be glimpsed in several ways. For example, we have just noted that the poet compares the devils in their vast numbers to the mass migrations of barbarian tribes at the fall of Rome, which anticipates the Fall of man (if we think of Rome as the New Troy, the city of man in its positive aspect); but since Rome was also a demonic kingdom, its fall illustrates more significantly for the devils the talion principle of reflective or redounding evil, whose eventual target is Satan. This is obvious in the echo of the biblical enemy who comes as God's judgment "from the north country...from the sides [Heb. *yarekah*, thigh, loins] of the earth" (Jer 6:22). The significance of the North as the source of demonic invasion forces will become clear later in Satan's exodus; here we can note its typically biblical and classical association with forces inimical to life and culture,⁷⁴ and--this is my point--the typically biblical purpose the poet gives the demons. They, "wandering ore the Earth, / Through Gods high sufferance for the tryal of man" (1.365-6), are his agents of perfection, whose temptation of men in the wilderness of the fallen world severally imitates Satan's of man in the paradisaal wilderness; or, shifting perspective slightly, their later corruptions of the Promised Land and desecrations of its Temple, to which the poet refers as the devils gather (1.367ff), are the multiple images of what Satan singly represents in himself (cf. 2.508-13; 9.494ff). Satan and the devils are thus mutually self-reflective, and their coming to him constitutes a judgment.

The catalogue of devils relates immediately to two other such lists that fit our context: first, Virgil's roll-call of the slain in the battle of Latins and Trojans, which echoes Homer's catalogue of Argives slain by Hector (Aen 11.664ff; Il 5.703-10); and second, the catalogue of Greek captains and their ships massing against Troy (Il 2.441-759).⁷⁵ In a profound sense the devils are the slain, and we recall the earlier comparison of them to the dead souls thronging the Acheron, to whom Satan thus assimilates himself. They are also the enemies of all life and the future invaders of the sacred enclosure of Paradise, whose primary classical analogue, as I noted earlier, is the city of Troy.

Satan himself has a more specific role within the setting of the Trojan War. When, for example, he tells his troops that,

...our better part remains
To work in close design, by fraud or guile
What force effected not....(645-7)

he is implicitly a kind of Odysseus, cunning trickster and thief of Troy's virginity. (His mentality is Odyssean not just because of his preference for guile over main force, but also because he exists in a special sense within the framework of the Homeric story of Troy, as we have seen.) Satan's "close design" refers in part to such devices as the Trojan Horse, whose designer and human equivalent, Laocoon suggests in the *Aeneid*, is Ulysses (2.44), just as Satan is "Author and prime Architect" (10.356) of the Asphaltic Bridge, which the poet describes partly by allusion to the Horse.⁷⁶ Like Satan, Ulysses'

device gathers, focuses, and disperses evil; like Ulysses, Satan is a military scout and embodiment of treachery sent "Thither, if but to pry" (1.655), reminding us as well of those Hebrew commandoes who steal in to spy on the Promised Land, about which is "a fame in Heav'n," as Satan names it to his troops after they have mustered (651). Ironically, the fame alludes also to the founding of New Troy (Aen 1.19-22), which like the founding of the New Jerusalem means the final annihilation of the ancestral foe. Alerting his fellows to this fame, Satan speaks as always truer than he intends, for he not only projects the fall of Paradise but also (in the allusion to the New Troy) unwittingly prophesies his frustrated attempts, like those of Juno and her allies in the *Aeneid*, to defeat long-wandering man, and his own ultimate demise by the transformed beings of the heavenly city.

The fourfold perspective on the world by which I earlier characterized the apostate ego shows how the metaphor of the enclosed and besieged precinct can be applied in an opposite sense as well. We have seen in the parody demonic vision the ego's aggressive, centripetal desire to penetrate a paradise from which it is excluded, and the complementary centripetal fear manifested in a shrinking to the centre of its psychic fortress, within which desire can again be projected. In the manifest demonic state, centripetal desire becomes centrifugal hatred, or the desire to possess the desire to destroy, and complementing it the centrifugal fear of destruction. In the devils' parody demonic sight the rumored world is thus the centripetal focal point of desire generated from within a sealed-up nucleus that the devils are soon to claim their stronghold of evil, though they fled to it in fear. The poet suggests the manifest demonic counterpoint, but to understand it we need to consider

two superimposed analogies, one to the distant cosmos, the other to Hell and, especially, to Pandaemonium.

We have seen that in light of the Homeric framework, the unfallen cosmos is like the sacred city of Troy, surrounded by its protective wall, besieged in their imagination by the assembled host, and about to be penetrated by a wily trickster and then by his tricky siege-engine. Their own stronghold, however, is analogous to the apostate city of Jericho, the opposite or complement of Troy, similarly sealed up, penetrated first by the godly spies, then by the Lord's device, a withershins dance ending in a great, apocalyptic shout. Both images are simultaneously evoked in the assembled devils' "shout that tore Hells Concave" (1.542): like the Argives assembled before Troy, the demons shout in their apparent strength (cf. Il 2.333), but we know them to be, like the godless citizens of Jericho, sealed up in a Hell of their own making, so that although they imagine themselves the besiegers, metaphorically their rending shout at the conclusion of the epic catalogue brings down their own defenses and God's wrath (of which they are the agents) upon themselves. The reflective relationship between the Jericho of Hell and the Troy of the cosmic Paradise bears a striking resemblance to that curious and complex identity between Egypt and Canaan in the experience of the godless wanderers, who longing for Egypt are, as it were, still sealed up within it, and whose projection of that Egyptian desire becomes the realized fear of devouring and dispersion.

At the end of the catalogue we note that having drawn his tribes from the fiery flood, Satan numbers the multitude (1.571), just as Moses numbered the component tribes of Israel after drawing them forth from the sea, and grouped them according to their patriarchal names (Num 1-2). The two acts are equally a kind of mustering, a consolidation and definition of a previously amorphous group, but Satan also numbers in a different sense. His first occurrence in the Bible is as the opposing spirit who provokes David into the sinful act of "numbering" his people (1 Chr 21:1; cf. 27:24) in apparent imitation of God, who "telleteth the number of the stars" (Ps 147:4) and, like the good shepherd, counts each one of his flock (Jer 33:12-13). Numbering in this sense is thus man's first act of ambitious pride directly identified with Satan. Why it should be so the Psalmist suggests by linking the numbering of the stars with calling them by name (147:4), a form of the creative act in Isaiah (43:1). That Satan is ambitiously proud is no news, but by imitating God in this way, by numbering his fallen stars, so to speak, he is saying, "thou art mine," as God does to fallen man in Isaiah.

Thus, confronted with the Narcissus vision of himself in the forms of refracted evil his quest will lead to, he makes his choice at the present threshold, and by making that fateful identification brings about judgment in more than one sense. Before indicating the shapes that this judgment takes, however, I need to examine the catalogue more closely for what it can tell us about demonic motivation.

v.

The devils are within an Egyptian Hell, as the building of Pandaemonium is soon to make clear, but having arisen from their Red Sea passage out of an Egyptian Heaven, they are also metaphorically at the beginning of their great Wilderness journey towards the unknown Promised Land. For this reason the number of chief devils approximates the number of Israelite tribes (later the number of Christ's disciples),⁷⁷ their future territory on earth is indicated, and Azazel, the primary Wilderness demon in the Bible, holds the standard under which "the universal Host" (541) begins its long march. I have already examined some of the reasons for the epic catalogue at this crucial pause in the action and have shown how the gathering forms a concentrated nucleus from which all future demonic activity proceeds, but none of this is sufficient to explain the poet's principle of selection in his list of future evils. The aspect of this principle I would like to consider briefly is the one most relevant to the Wilderness setting just noted, demonic motivation--evil considered not as an image, or a pattern of movement, or a rhythm of time, but as a type of 'energy.' Since the Wilderness is primarily a place of choice, we must know something about what compels the devils, and Satan in particular, to make the choices we witness. As my patterns of movement might suggest, this 'energy' turns out to be self-annihilating, really no energy at all but a gradual dissipation of original angelic strength.

A prominent clue to demonic motivation is the figure of Solomon with his "offensive Mountain" of worship (1.443), which occurs three times in the passage devoted to the twelve principal devils.⁷⁸ In the Bible Solomon is a

curiously ambivalent figure whose sudden turn for the worse reveals a strong editorial hand. The evident intention is for us to construe him as an antitype of Adam: first the wise king of a paradisaical order and anthropomorphic bond uniting God, people, and land in ideal harmony; then the uxorious idolater whose fall disunites his people and desolates his land. Milton seems to have read him in this way, for elsewhere he uses him as a model for Adam in his uxoriousness (e.g., 9.442-3), but here we are concerned more with Adam's fallen angelic prototype. The poet shows the rites of Moloch, Peor, and Astoreth-Astarte clustering around Solomon on earth as the devils have just converged on Satan in Hell and cluster about him, leading us to infer that the human king's fatal motivation for such worship corresponds to the Devil's own. The opening wedge in Solomon's fall is clearly his uxoriousness, but his dominating passion for "many strange women" (1 Kings 11:1) is crucial because they are "strange" or alien in the religious sense. In biblical terms the "fair Idolatresses" (PL 1.445) are spiritual whores like Jezebel, figures who represent the gods they worship and with whom sexual union is a metaphor of demonic worship. In Solomon's story the identity of sexual and theological error is distributed across time: his wives are the fair means by which he is beguiled into worship of "Idols foul" (446), but we recognize the temporal process as the movement from a parody to a manifest demonic state. Solomon's wives are their gods in fairer shape, and his sexual love of them is identical with his worship of those gods who are idols of a symbolically female nature. Since worship of nature is the worship of that which must die, Solomon's uxorious passion is in a fundamental sense the love of death.

The poet expresses such 'love' figuratively in the metaphor of the self-destructive or "penal" fire of Hell, which he also calls "darkness visible" (1.63). In the poem the image of fire occurs on all levels of being as a metaphor of animating energy or desire, and it also can be described in terms of the fourfold structure I have used to classify movement. Creation, for example, can be thought of as the centripetal penetration of heavenly "vital warmth" into "The black tartareous cold Infernal dregs / Adverse to life" (7.236-9), just as later in imitation of the divine act the sun extends its procreative warmth into the darkness of the terrestrial womb, and Adam, with Eve "blushing like the Morn" (8.511), celebrates the parallel human rites of love. These manifestations of centripetal fire would all *normally* be followed by the centrifugal opening up of generated life in which burns what we could call the fire of life, a more concentrated expression of which we have seen already in the Burning Bush and in the fiery paradise in Ezekiel (28:13f); only the unfallen progeny of Eve, which the Fall prevented, is lacking in the response of the energized world.

Satan's undoing of creation (I am now speaking of what apparently happens) takes precisely opposite form in his extension of demonic fire into human life, first felt in the burning lust of fallen sex (9.1013-15, 1034-6; 11.589-91), a centripetal eros of penetration and possession, foreshadowed in Satan's springing upward towards the cosmos "like a Pyramid of fire" (2.1013); then, as Michael points out to Adam, in its product, the "sulfurous Fire" of warfare (11.658), which is in its destructive fury a centrifugal eros of dispersal and destruction. Among other things, Michael is concerned to show Adam the "darkness visible" common to both forms of demonic desire, whose dialectical

interplay his visions reveal throughout human history. The catalogue of devils anticipates this revelation by presenting each principal demon's ritual images as manifestations of the common heat of Hell, the erotic fire of death.⁷⁹

Moloch is the most 'primitive' of the individualized demons in that he is the one closest to a personification of force and abomination (Cohen, *The Throne and the Chariot*, 60-1). The nature of his desire comes out most clearly in the nihilism he displays before the infernal council, when he proposes a main attack in various metaphors of destructive fire (2.60-70) and then envisions--one may even say, desires--failure in those same terms (2.94-101). Here, in the images of his later worship, we see the identical passion though in more clearly sexual form. With Chemos, "th' obscene dread of Moabs Sons" (1.406), he shares a ritual of child sacrifice whose central image is a blazing furnace-idol into which the children are thrust. Its grim obscenity,⁸⁰ like the opprobrium of the hill on which Solomon placed his temple, suggests a strong sexual component to the devouring violence. Although there is nothing overtly 'sexual' about Moloch and his cults in our sense,⁸¹ the conventional furnace image certainly implies it: like embryonic oes the children are placed in the artificial womb for a supposed or at least pretended apotheosis, passing 'through' the fire to the god.⁸² In addition, Chemos-Peor himself has two names, one of violence, the other of wantonness (PL 2.406-14), which suggest these two aspects of the common demonic fire (Flinker, "Father-Daughter Incest," 118).

The devils themselves apparently do not see the scenes of later ritual that the poet describes, but the fallen, godless worshippers of Moloch and Chemos do; and since those gods draw their existence from those worshippers, these visions are gorgonian in the precise sense I have used before: horrifying, metamorphic, self-relevatory. This raises the larger question of who else stands at the present threshold of vision. According to the narrative, the ritual scenes unfold as temporal extensions of the demons whom Satan sees arising from the "promiscuous croud" (1.380), but as the blazing furnace idol, for example, is a precise realization of the god for whom it stands-- Rosenblatt calls it "the fiery entrails of Moloch" ("Audacious Neighborhood'," 559)--metaphorically idol and god are one, and Satan can rightly be said to behold himself in the grim idol: a perverted image of the universal mother's womb blazing with nihilistic desire, a type of Hell. Satan later declares that he is Hell, but we are still left with the problem of differing sex: how can male beings (Satan, Moloch, Chemos) be identified with female images? The poet suggests one answer almost immediately in the interchangeable sex of Baalim and Ashtaroth (423-31), an image of sexual chaos and deceptiveness. Another answer lies in the symbolic function of sex: as creatures the devils are female with respect to a symbolically male God and, more significantly, are therefore chthonic, and the worship of them necessarily downward-tending. A third and more subtle answer will come when we consider Satan's relation to his 'daughter,' Sin, for whom this catalogue prepares us (Flinker, "Father-Daughter Incest," 117).

The demons of beauty and sweetness predominate in the gentler, though no less demonic, fire of death, characteristically expressed as sexual wantonness and yearning. Like "Israel in Sittim on thir march from Nile" (413), the less violent throng in the exodus from the Lake manifests the same identity of love and death as its more obviously destructive kind,⁸³ but for these the sexual images are juxtaposed to images of infection, disease, and disfigurement of the flesh (Rosenblatt, "'Audacious Neighborhood'," 562-3). Israel's wanton rites at Sittim, for example, end in "woe," i.e., plague (414); Namaan's devotion to Rimmon, apparent god of delight and fertility, does not protect him from the leprosy that suggests an outward sign of spiritual corruption (471); 'shame' (hemorrhoids) plague the worshippers of the mutilated Dagon (461), the Philistine god remembered also in Delilah's service (cf. Judg 16:23); and Tammuz's "annual wound," a sexual wound, allures Syrian damsels and 'infects' Zion's daughters with a sexual heat to sing amorously to the dying god (446-53). Israel's apostasy from the living God (432-7) and Ahaz's adoration of gods he had defeated (472-6) also amount to the worship of dead things, which through the absence of God's life-sustaining power become death-dealing to people, city, and land. Worship of Astoreth-Astarte (437-46)⁸⁴ leads to the same end, for she is a moon goddess (440), cruel arbitress over the mutable world in which death is inevitable. In the "amorous dittyes" sung to Tammuz (449), her lover, one hears the first of the tragic chorus whose notes the poet invokes when he comes to sing of Adam and Eve's fall into the world of inevitable and fated death. Indeed, we will see that Eve becomes a Venus to Satan's Adonis.

The gods of Egypt--"Osiris, Isis, Orus and their Train / With monstrous shapes and sorceries" (478-9)--add religious fanaticism to the catalogue of demonic lusts, which like the other kinds of spiritual error in the poem is joined to death. Here the geography of the exodus is presented in a panorama of three crises for the godless Israelites (in Egypt, Horeb, and Judah), and what happens at each defines and clarifies the nature of this death that demonic lust strives for. Common to all three is the worship of beasts or bestial images, which the talion law of sacred history reveals to be a worship of death:

...bowing lowly down
To bestial Gods; for which thir heads as low
Bow'd down in Battel, sunk before the Spear
Of despicable foes...(434-7)

One need only note that these lowly and contemptible foes are frequently figured as devouring beasts in the Bible to see how the bestial gods metaphorically become raging monsters of death; and that for the godless worshipper, especially Satan, this would be a Narcissus vision. The poet names the Egyptian idols "wandring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms / Rather then human" (481-2), referring to them in their classical setting as the "mentitae figurae," the "lying shapes" of gods in cowardly flight before Typhoeus (Met 5.319-26), just as the devils are in similar flight before the divine power whom they construe in a terrifying self-image. The fanaticism of Egypt is thus the self-abasement of the self-abased, and for the devils (by the process of transference we just noted) clearly also a Narcissus vision. The same fatal disease infects Israel, we are told, through the "borrow'd Gold" of Egypt

(483) that the godless Israelites turn into a golden calf, which we know to be an image of Egyptian Apis and Canaanite El; but here the sin is compounded and intensified, for the infected Israelites set up the calf as an image of the gods who liberated them from Egypt (Ex 32:4), that is, God, whom they saw slay those "bleating Gods" (489) with the Egyptian firstborn sons to whom they are 'equal.' Those who worship the calf (at Horeb, and "in Bethel and in Dan," 485) therefore worship the destroyer of the calf (of Egypt): they worship self-destruction as well as the dead. It makes no difference whether we assign the calf and his worship to Egypt or to Canaan because for the godless wanderers these two metaphorical places can be distinguished in time and space only.

The progress of the twelve tribes of devils--a panorama of Satan's refracted selfhood--concludes with Belial, least like Moloch in style and yet identical in effect and, ultimately, in desire.⁸⁵ His evil genius the poet sums up in the two words "riot" and "rape." The first denotes debauchery of the flesh and the violence in which it fittingly ends; these are the sins much in evidence just prior to the Deluge (cf. 11.714-18), to which the poet alludes here because, among other things, it is a demonic self-image with which Satan is often identified.⁸⁶ The second word, "rape," is another perversion of the flesh ending in death, as at Gibeah (1.503-5) and in Sodom, the demonic city that burns first in lust and then with the answering fires of destruction. Belial would seem the closest personification of this type of Hell, at least in its parody demonic form as the city of violent sex. The fate of Lot's wife, however, makes Sodom a kind of gorgonian furnace idol and thus only a modulation of Moloch's grim obscenity.

Finally, we see a brief parade of the classical gods. Though elsewhere in the poem they bulk very large indeed, here the poet has limited them to a minor role, though their appearance makes two essential points. First the fact that they are minor signifies their subservience to their biblical kin, and the false precedence later claimed for them (508-10) indicates that they are a distorted reflection. Second, the shape of the distorted story they tell (510-21) is itself significant of the demonic cosmogony, which begins in violent repression, usurpation, and the primal crime, and culminates in the Machiavellian statecraft of the deified emperor. It is also a world wholly cosmic, bounded by the fallen order of nature whose highest heaven is the 'middle air' and which is ruled from the summit of another "offensive Mountain."

From first to last the images arising from the "promiscuous croud" (itself summoned from an 'oblivious' mirror), each of which Satan accepts and acknowledges his own, are Narcissus images; but we have seen further how completely this mythological name is to be invoked, for each is an image of more or less violent longing for death, or more precisely, of the love that is death and therefore cannot be considered 'love' or 'desire' at all (for these terms express an energy), but rather a dying or failing love. I have noted before the theological point that a demonic 'act' is not an action at all but a failure to act, and we see here additional confirmation that Milton's devils 'act' accordingly. Nevertheless, the metaphors of negative action are too useful to relinquish, and the fact that they are ultimately false or deceptive turns to the poet's advantage, for one of his major points is that the demonic exodus becomes increasingly a journey into the unreal and nonexistent.

At the second major threshold of Satan's exodus, just before the devils turn to the reclamation of their first Promised Land, their muster and review gives us something akin to a detailed survey of the Promised Land that they will in fact possess, a place (like that of the godless spies) of devouring corruption and violence. We have seen that this great muster culminates in the self-destroying "shout that tore Hells Concave" (542), yet the self-destruction is a apocalyptic vision they do not see, and on the level of delusive parody it is the shout of victory that opens up the land they are about to settle and transform. Then, too, is the effect the assembled, incorporated might has on Satan, of whom it is a gorgonian reflection--his judgment according to the choice he has made to assimilate the assembled devils to himself. When he chooses this might his own, he is judged in the consequent metamorphosis:

...And now his heart
Distends with pride, and hardning in his strength
Glories....
.....
....Thus far these beyond
Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd
Thir dread commander: he above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a Towr....(1.571-3, 587-91)

Viewing himself, one might say, he hardens into the demonic temple-tower we first glimpsed emerging from the Burning Lake, will soon again see in the building of Pandaemonium, and in fact wherever he goes. The tower is fitting at this verge precisely because it is a hardening of demonic desire: for the parody demonic an image of fulfillment actualized in the building of

Pandaemonium; for the manifest demonic an image of the corresponding desolation. All parodies of the Promised Land are varieties of the waste Wilderness, and this one is no exception: Satan's towering form is already a sublunar ruin (594-9), and his mighty army a burnt grove in a blasted Wilderness cursed by God (612-15; cf. Jer 17:6).

My aim in this chapter has been to discover some of the details that define Satan's situation in Hell, which is his enduring situation, and so forecast the shape and effect of what is to follow. In each of the settings in which we have found him, we have found the biblical paradigm I have called the exodus: the Egyptian "house of bondage" Satan constructs wherever he is; the waste Wilderness that he is condemned to wander perpetually; the Promised Land he compulsively projects and then discovers false. The details of the poem show this microstructure repeatedly; again and again we see Satan at the recurrent spiritual threshold where a gorgonian Narcissus vision he is self-bound to choose perfects him in his evil by consolidating his demonic identity while simultaneously dissipating original angelic strength.

Fundamentally Satan's threshold never changes, but as we have seen before, the unchanging idea or truth it expresses about fallen mentality is something glimpsed with increasing clarity in the local circumstances of individual and quite distinct thresholds. To follow him through all of these would overwhelm both reader and work, but we need not do that to grasp Satan's typological development and the biblical structure of his quest. I remarked before that in the macrostructure Hell is a kind of Egypt, hence the somewhat loosely designated 'Egyptian prologue' of the present chapter; in the same way we can

now examine in greater detail the two remaining stages of the demonic exodus by associating them with two of Satan's major threshold experiences, as the titles of the following chapters indicate. The typology of his development will emerge in the increasingly complex and meaningful relationship between appearance and reality in the demonic enterprise. Like the godless wanderers out of Egypt, who are (Milton knew) metaphorically one with the Pharaoh who pursued them, Satan crosses his Red Sea passage yet drowns there; makes his way through a chaotic Wilderness yet never leaves it; and conquers his Promised Land yet himself is conquered in the fulfillment of his promise.

Notes to Chapter 5

¹ The epiphany of the Son in Book 5 (577-615) is the central moment of trial for the angels, but not the only one. All the heavenly host (including in some sense the Son) are tried by the Father's call for the sacrifice of redemption (3.213-16), and Uriel, however deceived, recognizes in the disguised Satan's story a perfectly valid, perfective occupation for a young angel (3.694-701). The hierarchy of Heaven, illustrated in the differences between Raphael and Michael, also implies the perfective quest when viewed in the light of the epic structure assumed for the angels: from the moment of beginning until the time when "God shall be All in All" (3.341).

² In a paradisaical context words such as "wilderness" (4.135; 5.294) and "error" (fr. L. error, wandering, meander; 4.239; 7.302) evoke the positive aspect of the biblical Wilderness metaphor and so indicate the structure of unfallen existence. The reader's interpretation of these words in a fallen sense is another matter and must be kept logically distinct. See my discussion of 'wander' and related critical issues in Chapter 7, note 3. In any case, my point is that both have a common structure; see God the Father's summary of the divine plan at 7.154-61, which I discuss in Chapter 7, pp. 329-30.

³ For this part of the poem and its relation to the rest, see MacCallum, "Milton and Sacred History."

⁴ For a fair assessment, see Harding, *Club of Hercules*, particularly Chapter 1.

⁵ This issue began with Milton criticism and is still current, though it has changed its form; see Collett, "Myth and Mythography," for an historical summary; Long; and the works cited in the following note.

⁶ On the biblical transformation of pagan symbols into types of biblical revelation, see Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 15ff; and Daniélou, "The Problem of Symbolism," 435ff; *The Lord of History*, 141-4. For Milton's use of the classics in this way, see Sims, "Milton, Literature as a Bible, the Bible as Literature"; Berkeley, 28-31; Collett, "Myth and Mythography," 178ff; "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology," 88-9; Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 110-12; Lewalski, "Typological Symbolism," 103; MacCaffrey, 11-15, 19; Diane McColley, "Shapes of Things Divine," 50; Madsen, "From Shadowy Types to Truth," 98; and Osgood, xlv ff. Sandys' commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* demonstrates this interpretative technique at length, and Arnold Williams shows that Bible commentators of the Renaissance used the classics in this way (Chapter 10).

⁷ See the Introduction, p. 5.

⁸ PL 1.28, "cause," alludes to Aen 1.8; PL 1.33, the epic question, to Il 1.8f.

⁹ Camps remarks at length on the "strange analogy" between the quests of Aeneas and of Abraham (22). For Aeneas as a type of man "on the pilgrimage of a dimly described eternal glory" (Garrod, 152), see also Stanford (136); and Bowra (36-7); as a type of Adam: Bush, "Virgil and Milton," 180; Kermode, 5-6; Blessington, 67; and thus as a figure parodied by Satan: Christopher, 62-6; Blessington, 1, 6-7; cf. 14-15. On Aeneas in relation to *Paradise Lost*, see also Di Cesare.

¹⁰ Quoted from Murray's translation (3). For a thorough analysis of Odysseus-Ulysses from Homer onward, see Stanford, who emphasizes the ethical ambiguity of Ulyssean intelligence and traces the denigration of this figure

from the *Iliad* (4.339; 9.309) and Pindar (*Nemean Odes* 7 and 8) through Roman tradition to Dante and beyond; he contrasts the "circle" of Ulysses' career with the "widely curving, but never retrograde, arc" of Aeneas' quest (136). Harding, *Club of Hercules*, notes that it is "surely unnecessary to specify the occasions when Satan reminds us of Odysseus" (51, n. 13); see also Blessington, 2, 14-18, 59; Summers, 52. On the relation of Satan's journey to the *Odyssey*, see also Aryanpur; Thomson, *Classical Influences*, 53-61; and Tillyard, *The Miltonic Setting*, 203. Steadman, *Milton's Epic Characters*, argues for Satan's Odyssean heroism (200-5, 234-5). On the typical form of classical heroism, see Greene, 14-15; for the epic nature of Satan's journey, see MacCaffrey, 196f; Durr, 521-2; Koehler.

¹¹ On Troy from Homer onward see Young; Knight, *Vergil*, esp. Part 1, *Vergil's Troy*; Rykwert, 148-51; Low, 173-4; Kern, 109. On the siege and fall of Troy see Austin, *Aeneidos Liber Secundus*; in its relation to *Paradise Lost*, see Blessington, 2, 53, 59; to Renaissance literature, Tatlock.

¹² See pp. 137; 293; and, for example, Rykwert; Knight, *Vergil*; Muller, esp. 186-7; Kern, 29-30, 108-11; and the sources quoted below.

¹³ For Narcissus see the version in Ovid, *Met* 3.344-510, esp. in the context of the other stories in the Cadmus cycle; the historical survey by Vinge; the critical studies of Schickel; Fränkel, 82-5; Macpherson, 75ff; Goldin, 4-15; Patterson's study of "the entranced gaze upon a significant image" in Virgil, Crétien de Troyes, Dante, and Milton; and Kern's remark that the direct confrontation with self is characteristic of the labyrinth experience (268).

For the relation of the mirroring vision to the Bible and to the biblical idea of idolatry, see Frye, *The Great Code*, 164-5; cf. Phavorinus's definition of an *eídolon*, quoted from his *Corinthiaca*, in Steadman, *Milton's Epic Characters*, 239.

For Narcissus imagery in *Paradise Lost* generally, see MacCaffrey, 142-3; Giamatti, 299, 344-7; Ferry, 117-19; and Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, Chapter 6. Ferry notes that Hell is "at once an area and a plight, a physical and a spiritual reality" (97; see also 98, 103-4; 119-21); Hughes that it is "a realm where all things are monstrous self reflections of the evil in the hearts of [Satan's] followers" ("Myself Am Hell," 94); Rollin that Satan is "doomed to explore the wasteland of his own blasted soul" (14); and Crump that "Even when Satan interacts with another, as he does with his daughter, Sin, he merely isolates and enforces selfhood" (31). We will see in Chapters 6 and 7 that the problem of the 'other' for Satan is considerably more complex than this, however. Cf. Revard, *War in Heaven*, 49f; Summers, 47ff; Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 139-41; and Samuel, 248, quoted above (p. 197).

For the Narcissus vision in relation to Eve, see Burden, 83-5; Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 148-52, 196-7; Summers, 97-8; Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 73-5; Bundy, 281ff; Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 216-20; Giamatti, 315-19.

¹⁴ On the classical themes of amazement and the warding off of evil by 'apotropaic' agencies, see Siebers on Medusa and Narcissus; Bruce, Ogle, and Coomaraswamy on automata and related threshold phenomena; Kern on the apotropaic power of labyrinths and labyrinth diagrams, traditionally drawn on thresholds (29-30, 107-8); the article in Roscher on "Gorgones und Gorgo" (1.2:1695-1727); the articles in Pauly-Wissowa on "Amulett" (1.2:1984-9), "Apotrópaios" (2.1:189-90), "Daidalos" (4.2:1994-2008), and "Gorgo" (7.2:1630-

55); and Chapter 6, note 1.

¹⁵ For the talion principle in the Tantalus myth, see Steadman, *Milton's Epic Characters*, where he observes that "like Tantalus, [the metamorphosed devils chewing the delusive fruit] suffer a punishment that fits the nature of their crime" (306), and he goes on to discuss the crime-and-punishment motif associated with the Tantalus myth (306-11). Cf. Steadman, "Tantalus and the Dead Sea Apples," 38-9; and my Chapter 2, note 24.

¹⁶ Aen 6.14-33; cf. Austin, *Aeneidos Liber Sextus*, 38ff; Norden, 120-3.

¹⁷ In *Poetics of the Holy Lie* summarizes the threshold crossings in *Paradise Lost*, but without close analysis (131-9).

¹⁸ The importance of choice for Milton's thought in both his prose and his poetry is sufficiently well-known not to require proof. Martz points out the essential nature of choice "to man's perfection and man's happiness, whether fallen or unfallen" (127; see Chapter 7, *passim*). Blackburn emphasizes its significance for the dynamic garden of growth in *Paradise Lost* (119-20); Diane McColley, in "Eve's Dream" (27), relates it to the vulnerability of the garden's creatures; Kurth shows its role in Christian heroism (27-8, 57ff, 111); Kranidas, in "A View of Milton and the Traditional" (26), notes the constant demand for choice on all creatures; and Steadman, in *Milton's Epic Characters* (viii), points to the role of "internal choice" or *proairesis* in the epic action (cf. Huntley; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 3.2; 6.2.2ff; 2.6.15). The demand on Satan for choice is no less pressing or significant. Lawry shows that Satan's is the "fatal choice--that is, of self-elected judgment" (140) that hardly deserves the name: "To choose the evidently and indescribably inferior, the nonexistent, is so mindless that it ceases to be choice, degenerating instead to blundering mistake and inanity" (125). "Degenerating" is, as I show, an important qualification. Revard points out that Satan's fall into sin begins with "the reason's mischoice and not the emotion's misdirection" (59); and Steadman, discussing *proairesis* in the poem, emphasizes how "Milton delineates the Satanic *ethos*...primarily in terms of a sequence of moral choices. Each of these confirms the devil's overruling purpose" and thus fetters his will and deforms his character still further (*Milton's Epic Characters*, 313).

¹⁹ "The Readie and Easie Way To Establish a Free Commonwealth," in *The Works of John Milton*, 6:149.

²⁰ For example, in PL 1.51-3, the devils "Lay vanquisht, rolling"; in 54-8, Satan throws "round" his eyes in torment, viewing "on all sides round" his "Dungeon" (61), where "torture [fr. L. *tortura*, twisting, writhing] without end / Still urges" (67-8); and in 76-8, in "Floods and Whirlwinds of tempestuous fire" he finds his mate Beelzebub, "weltring [fr. 'welter,' roll, twist, tumble, wriggle, OED v. 1] by his side." For the whirlwind as a metaphor of the kind of transition or transformation implied by a labyrinthine passage, see Job 38:1; 2 Kings 2:1,11; Ezek 1:4; etc.

²¹ Lieb, in *Dialectics of Creation*, notes that Satan and his crew are "Caught in a paralysis of unfulfillment" (125).

²² Eng. 'dismal' is derived ultimately from L. *dies mali*, the "evil, unlucky, or unpropitious days, of the mediaeval calendar, called also *dies Aegyptiaci*" (OED). Chaucer ("The Book of the Duchesse," 1206-7) and others connect the *dies mali* with the plagues of Egypt, for which see Skeat, 493-4. In the Vulgate, *dies malum* (or *mali*) and *tempus malum* are used for a day of judgment (e.g., Vulg Ps 36:19; Prov 16:4; Eccl 9:12), and for the eschatological day (Amos 5:13), of which the judgment of the Egyptians is a type (cf. 8:8). This day is typically a day of darkness (Amos 8:9; Zeph 1:15) and therefore the connection, noted by the OED, between the *dies mali* and the

plague of darkness (Ex 10:21-2; Wisdom 17:2; etc.).

²³ The former is a direct allusion at 1.304-11; the latter implicit in the fallen "Carcases"--the word and image of judgment applied to the disobedient in both poem and Bible (PL 1.310; Num 14:32,33).

²⁴ See Mohanty and cf. Rev 12:15. Satan's evil is compared to a flood in 7.56-9, where there is a veiled allusion to the Red Sea event that depends on the identification of Pharaoh with the waters in Eze 29:3. On earth Satan first lands on Niphates (3.742), which according to Strabo (11.12.4) is the source of the Tigris river (in turn the source of the waters of Milton's Paradise, as at PL 9.71), whose course Satan implicitly follows southward to Eden; and at 9.69ff he mingles with the Tigris in order to enter Paradise, "involv'd in rising Mist," by water and metaphorically as water. He is said to have searched various bodies of water for a suitable form of concealment (9.76-82), and his approach towards Eve along a river bank at 9.433ff, a "storm so nigh," may recall Isaiah's comparison of the Assyrian king to an overflowing river (8:7-8), as I speculate in Chapter 7. Thus the Deluge, like the Creator's skewing of cosmic order after the Fall (10.649ff), is an outer form of the inner event. The devils swarming on the burning shores of Hell are compared to the deluge of barbarians advancing on Rome (1.351-5), and in several other places the link is maintained between evil, which tends towards dissolution and chaos, and uncontrolled waters. Some of these I discuss in the remainder of this chapter.

²⁵ Isa 27:1, AV and Vulg; cf. PL 1.67; 9.516.

²⁶ I am referring to the standard Hebrew puns on Moses' name, for which see Chapter 2, note 12.

²⁷ MacCaffrey discusses fire as "the destructive principle itself" (160-4).

²⁸ Milton's phrase refers to two properties of alchemic sulphur, "one of the many synonyms for the mysterious transformative substance," as Jung calls it in his *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (119). Though, as he notes, alchemists "were anything but consistent thinkers" (119), the fiery nature of sulphur is "unanimously stressed" in their writings (111): "Sulphur is everything that burns," declares Paracelsus in *Vita Longa*, "and nothing catches fire save by reason of sulphur" (quoted, 111). By 'fiery' not merely combustibility but "its occult fiery nature" is also meant (112); thus, "Above all, it burns and consumes" (114), but this burning is related to the stage of the alchemical opus called *putrefactio* or the corruption of death that precedes rebirth (236). It is therefore chthonic, is associated in alchemy with the devil (93) and the dragon (112), and has "the closest affinities with...the 'central fire' or 'ignis gehennalis' (fire of hell)" (94-5). The other property I referred to is its burning "unconsum'd": "Occasionally," Jung comments, "it is called 'cinis extractus a cinere' (ash extracted from ash). 'Ash' is an inclusive term for the scoriae left over from burning, the substance that 'remains below'--a strong reminder of the chthonic nature of sulphur" (112; cf. 120). One notes also that like Lucifer-Satan, sulphur has a uranian as well as a chthonic aspect; thus the paradoxical substance that is identified with "the radiance of the sun" or "the rainbow above the waters" is at the same time called "the earth's foulness" and can therefore be compared to "Lucifer, the most beautiful of the angels, [who] becomes the devil" (118-19). Note also the allusion to alchemical *sublimatio* at PL 1.235, where it is ironically linked to volcanic activity. Jung remarks that "The initiations of late classical syncretism, already saturated with alchemy...were particularly concerned with the theme of ascent, i.e., sublimation," as in the Neoplatonic image of returning ascent from the imprisoning flesh through the planetary spheres; see Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 55-7. Later I will show how Satan's

exodus is linked to the Neoplatonic quest; here in preparation the poet shows it to be volcanic, i.e., ill-timed, abortive, labyrinthine, and anything but cleanly incorporeal.

²⁹ "Darkness visible" alludes to Job 10:22; for the tradition, see Grant McColley, 99-101.

³⁰ Satan's recognition of Beelzebub is a perfect example of what Greene calls an epic "recognition scene," for which see Chapter 6, note 23.

³¹ Cf. PL 1.147 with the theme of Odysseus' heroic endurance in Ody 1.1ff; and see PL 1.158 and especially 2.199, where Satan's "To suffer, as to do" translates Scaevola's "et facere et pati fortia Romanum est," just prior to thrusting his hand into the flames before Lars Porsenna, whom he had failed to kill, to prove Roman virtue (Livy 2.12.10).

³² See Illustration 11. In *Fearful Symmetry*, Frye points out that "In Blake's *Vision of the Book of Job* Jehovah and Job have the same face because Jehovah is inside Job's mind" (343). The iconographical details of this illustration are unmistakable: this God's left foot is cloven, and he is wound about by the Serpent. See *Blake's Job* (33).

³³ This is a paraphrase of Milton's theological statement of accommodation: "When we talk about knowing God, it must be understood in terms of man's limited powers of comprehension....God has revealed only so much of himself as our minds can conceive and the weakness of our nature can bear" (*Christian Doctrine*, I.ii, 133).

³⁴ See Steadman, "Tantalus"; Scheuer; "Tantalos," in Pauly-Wissowa, 4.A.2:2224-30; and note Ovid's connection between Tantalus and Narcissus through what Vinge calls "the hunger and thirst motif" (17-18; cf. Met 3.415, 482-5).

³⁵ Koehler notes that the devils' exploration of Hell is a kind of mythic quest and a prelude to Satan's journey (100-1); a detailed study of the imagery is needed, however, and would support his point.

³⁶ Low, in "The Image of the Tower in *Paradise Lost*," notes that, "In [Satan's] person are concentrated all the implications of the tower image" (179). He points out that, "The motif of the tower is itself basically tragic, its rise and fall an old image of pride and catastrophe" and that the tower "is also the very essence of the city, and of the works and aspirations of Man" (173-4). Like the Virgilian serpents, it is a portent: "implicit in the tower is the threat of future disaster" to man, but more to Satan, "who brings death and destruction by exalting himself" (180-1). Cf. Bundy's discussion of Seventeenth Century faculty psychology in relation to Eve's dream (274ff).

³⁷ On the theme of nobility in the Renaissance and Satan's use of it, see Steadman, *Milton's Epic Characters*, 265-73.

³⁸ On volcanic metaphors in the context of corporeal imagery, see Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 28-30; Broadbent, "Milton's Hell," 174; and the discussion of corporeal imagery below.

³⁹ There are three allusions or parallels to the Phaethon myth in the poem on successively lower levels of the universe: in Satan's flaming fall (1.45-7); in his situation before Heaven's "Kingly Palace Gate" (3.501ff); and in his confrontation with Uriel on the sun (3.588ff). In Ovid (Met 1.750-2.400) the myth is one in a series of stories about the increasingly successful heroic attempts on the divine realm (cf. Bacchus, 4.604-6; Arachne, 6.5-145; Niobe, 6.146-312; Hercules, 9.103-272; etc.). Phaethon's attempt is the first, and as the story emphasizes, it is premature: he is too young and weak for the strenuous favour he asks (2.54-5), thus the granting of it is rash (*temerarius*, 2.50). Sandys comments: "In that rash and unexperienced, he is said to be a boy, and refractory to counsell (with out which, Power is her

owne destruction) and therefore altogether unfit for government" (107). Phaethon's youth is answered in Satan's disguise before Uriel, as "a stripling Cherube...Not of the prime" (3.636-7), and his rashness in Satan's restless lust concealed as the desire to probe God's works ahead of the other angels. Phaethon's rash ascent to the radiant doors of Phoebus (Met 1.776-9), the question of his legitimacy among his fellows (751ff), his father's unbearable brilliance (2.22-41), and his self-determined fall (42ff), also fit Satan's story closely. Both figures seek "poenam...pro munere," "a punishment as a boon" (Met 2.99), and Phoebus's warning to his son, that he will not find what he desires--no "groves there, and cities of the gods, and sanctuaries with rich gifts" (2.76-7), but a frightening world full of savage monsters and uncontrollable passions--applies ironically to Satan. Cf. Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 90-1; Cohen, *The Throne and the Chariot*, 48-9.

⁴⁰ Note Lieb's comment in *Dialectics of Creation*: "the womb in the Satanic world implies its negation: a hole into which one enters to suffer unfulfillment and annihilation" (167; cf. 22-5, 27-8). I will deal further with the womb metaphor when I discuss Satan's confrontation with Sin in the next chapter.

⁴¹ On the oral-anal-sexual metaphors involved in the satanic cannon, see Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 116-21.

⁴² For the corporeal metaphors connected with Pelorus and Aetna, see Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 29-32, n. 15.

⁴³ In an extended sense, L. *claustra* can mean something that bars a path or shuts up a place or can refer to a place that is shut up, hence to a labyrinth, as in Seneca, *Phaedra*, 1171-3; and to a 'closed city' (one under seige), as in Statius, *Thebaid* 10.474. Note Josh 6:1, "Jericho autem claustra erat" (Vulg; "Cives autem Jerichuntis occluserant eam," J-T), "Now Jericho was straitly shut up" (AV).

⁴⁴ Ody 12.59-110; 201-59. Note Virgil's substitution of the monsters inside the portal of Hades for Scylla and Charybdis, whom Aeneas avoids (Pauly-Wissowa, 3.A.1.350).

⁴⁵ Cf. Knight, *Vergil*, 171: "Besides other things, a Cyclops is a volcano and his eye a crater." On the conjunction of Satan, the Cyclops, and his volcano, see Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 61-3.

⁴⁶ 'Involve' (fr. L. *involvere*, to roll to or upon, inwrap, infold, envelop, etc.; cf. *involutus*, involved, intricate, obscure) suggests the labyrinthine quality. Compare also "bottom" (PL 1.236), which can mean "A clew or nucleus on which to wind thread" (OED, 15), used with a negative prefix at 2.405 ("The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss") to mean 'without a clue,' hence 'labyrinthine.'

⁴⁷ In the first two books "change," "changed," and "changing" occur 15 times; "chained" and "chains" 5; the "golden Chain" in which the cosmos is hung (2.1005, 1051) is the apocalyptic counterpart of the latter, as the "change delectable, not need" (5.629) on unfallen earth is of the former.

⁴⁸ See notes 1-3, above.

⁴⁹ For the scholarly debate on Milton's use of typology, see my discussion in the Introduction (Section 3), and Ulreich.

⁵⁰ Mahood speaks of "the vortex-like structure of Milton's world-picture" (180; cf. 181-5), though she and MacCaffrey (123-4) use 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal' in ways different from mine.

⁵¹ Note Kerényi's point that spirals are labyrinths when they are considered as paths of entrance or exit (13).

⁵² For the shift from force to guile in the fall from Heaven, in the catalogue of devils, and in the confrontation with Sin and Death, see Di

Cesare, 36, 42, 44.

⁵³ See Chapter 2, note 26. MacCaffrey notes that "Satan's voyage is very like traditional 'descents'....he makes Hell seem almost a haven...and his entry into Chaos is as devastating as a true descent to the underworld"; and she points out how Sin and Death conform to the catabatic pattern (196-7). Cf. Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 87-9, 92-5; and my analysis of Satan's confrontation with Sin at the gates of Hell in the next chapter.

⁵⁴ For the parallel between Eve and Sin, see Chapter 6, p. 268.

⁵⁵ The "Skie of Jasper" in 11.209 alludes to Ezek 28:12ff in combination with Rev 21:18-19 and, perhaps, Ex 24:9-11, to suggest what Adam and Eve are now excluded from; cf. PL 3.363.

⁵⁶ "Astonisht" and "astounded" are both variants of 'astone' and are thus related to L. *ex+tonare* (cf. L. *attonare*, to strike with lightning, to thunder at, to stun, stupify); the devils have indeed suffered the divine 'thunder' and are stupified (cf. 1.313; 331-4; etc.). 'Astonished' is a biblical (AV) word and thus suggests the Wilderness context of gorgonian desolation (see Jer 2:12; 18:16; etc.), which is supported by classical use of *attonare* (see Met 4.802); here by Beelzebub's "amaz'd" (by apheresis, 'maze'); and later by fallen Eve's effect on Adam, "Astonied stood and Blank" (9.890), where the folk-etymology of "astonied" (fr. stone) is metaphorically accurate, however fanciful it may be in other ways.

⁵⁷ Cf. II 19.40-1 with PL 1.314-15. For the parallel between Satan and Achilles, see Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 46-7; and Blessington, 9-14, 18.

⁵⁸ Cf. II 18.478ff PL 1.284ff. Blessington notes that the shield is echoed in Michael's vision of the fallen world (69f).

⁵⁹ On the catalogue in its relation to the theme of idolatry, see Rosenblatt, "'Audacious Neighborhood'," esp. 558-64, with which I agree in several particulars. He notes that, "The disparate figures of the catalogue are pressed into union" and usefully marks "the operation of a sort of demonic typology by which the idols in the catalogue dimly set forth the appearance, location, and strategy of Satan in Book IX" (560). See also Di Cesare, who points out "the theme of specious identity" in the devils' "terrific non-identity" (35); Flinker, "Father-Daughter Incest," who summarizes the relevant criticism, discusses the function of demonic attractiveness, and points out how some of the devils "participate in actions of parodic prolepsis with reference to Satan" (120).

⁶⁰ 'Macranthropic,' fr. *macranthropos* (or, alternatively, *macroanthropos*, hence 'macroanthropic') refers, in Voegelin's words, to "the symbolization of social order by analogy with the order of a human existence that is well attuned to being" (5-6), and in my terms to the metaphor of the cosmos in the image of a human body. According to both Cassirer and Eliade, the *macranthropos* is fundamental to the nature of mythical thought; as Eliade shows, this metaphor is commonly found in the myths of creation as the sacrifice of some primordial divine being (*The Forge and the Crucible*, 32), for which the Akkadian creation epic--the so-called *Enuma Elish*, "When on high," after its opening words--is probably the most relevant example because of its relation to the Bible (see ANET, 60-72; Cassirer, *Mythical Thought*, 90-4; Eliade, *The Forge and the Crucible*, Chapters 2-6, etc.; *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Chapters 7-9; and my discussion of creation as sacrifice in Chapter 2.). The idea can be traced from Plato (*Philebus* 28-30, *Timaeus* 30ff, and *Phaedo* 112ff); through Manilius 4.701-10; Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* 1.17 (156-7); Ficino, *Commentary...on the Symposium of Plato* 6.10 (199-200), etc.; and in the Bible can be found in the what Robinson calls Israel's "corporate personality," in several biblical metaphors I have

discussed, and in the Christian metaphor of the *corpus mysticum*. The best known occurrences in Milton are the metaphors of England "rousing herself like a strong man after sleep" in *Areopagitica* (2:558) and of the shadowy human archetype ("hominis archetypus") in "De Idea Platonica Quemadmodum Aristoteles Intellexit" (21-4), though as I demonstrate below, this mythologem is central to *Paradise Lost*, since it is the basis for the extensive complex of corporeal imagery; see MacCaffrey, 145-52, 157; and Lieb, "Milton and the Organicist Polemic." As Voegelin points out, the macranthropos is the complement of the microcosmos, "the symbolization of society and its order as an analogue of the cosmos and its order" (5), for which see Nicolson (1-46). For a general study, see Barkan; note Curtius (134-8); and the immensely suggestive essay in Foucault (17-45).

⁶¹ Cf. PL 1.182, "these livid flames," which alludes to Aen 6.319-20, where Aeneas, amazed at the disorder at the Styx, wants to know "quo discrimine ripas / hae linquunt, illae remis vada livida verrunt?", "by what rule do these leave the banks, those sweep the livid stream with oars?" This question is answered for such as Satan at PL 1.209-20.

⁶² Etruscan religion was a revealed religion of semi-divine seers and formally codified ritual that covered all aspects of public and private life; it depended heavily on rites of divination, especially haruspicy, on which the Roman Senate often relied. Livy notes the Etruscan dedication to religion and excellence in practicing it (5.1.6); the Christian Arnobius, in *Adversus Nationes* 7.26 (375), proclaimed Etruria "genetrix et mater superstitionis." See Heurgon.

⁶³ See Aen 10.763-7 (where Orion is a figure for Mezentius, a type of Satan); 1.535-8 (where Orion attacks Aeneas and company); 4.52 (where he keeps Aeneas at Carthage); etc.; cf. Job 38:31, on which Dhorme comments that Orion "is a sort of chained Prometheus" (589). In the present context, he appears unleashed--a demonstration of God's power.

⁶⁴ On the scholarly discussion of Busiris, see Steadman, *Nature into Myth*, Chapter 13. On the "Memphian Chivalry" see Cohen, *The Throne and the Chariot*, 28f.

⁶⁵ Noted by Dhorme, who identifies Orion as the Babylonian prototype of Nimrod (131-2).

⁶⁶ For Satan as Pharaoh, see Sims, *The Bible in Milton's Epics*, 152-3; Shawcross, "Paradise Lost and the Theme of Exodus," 11. Hummel comments that "The unnamed 'Pharaoh' of the Exodus narratives is as much evil personified as any specific ruler" (42), and Voegelin notes that "precise suppositions" about the historical identity of the Pharaohs of the oppression and the Exodus are "doubtful" (112)--and, I would add, quite beside the point.

⁶⁷ In *Dialectics of Creation*, Lieb notes Satan's reversal of Moses' role as deliverer (130-1), and that in calling up the pitchy cloud, "evil becomes self-defeating and thereby generates itself in order to destroy itself" (131).

⁶⁸ MacCaffrey observes that "As locusts, the angels become themselves the chastisers of evil, another example of God's power to use wickedness for good ends" (127-8). This "power" is an example of the talion law, for which see Chapter 2, note 23.

⁶⁹ Wisdom's description of the Egyptians' psychological terror is informed by and perhaps reflects the mythic scenario of the daily defeat of Apophis (or Apopis), the Egyptian serpent-dragon and personification of the 'condensed darkness' of chaos, by the sun god, after a great battle at dawn and at sunset. In this creation myth, parallel to the redemption from Egypt, the powers of 'chaos' are not passive but present a tangible threat. The failure of the sun to rise over Egypt would thus mean to the Egyptians the victory of

Apophis, which is how God would appear to these godless ones, in what Wisdom calls "the betrayal of their own minds" (17:15, in Winston, 303). See Frankfort, 132; Morenz, 81; Hornung, 158-9; 178.

⁷⁰ 'Pitch' can mean either the stuff made from distillation of tar or turpentine, or be synonymous with various bituminous substances (*OED*, sb. 1, 1-2). In the AV "pitch" translates Heb. *kopher* (pitch) at Gen 6:14, used of the sealing agent for Noah's ark (cf. PL 11.731); and Heb. *zepeth* (pitch) at Ex 2:3, where in parallel with "slime," Heb. *chemar* (bitumen, asphalt, fr. *chamar*, ferment, boil or foam up), it is used as the sealing agent of Moses' ark (cf. Isa 34:9). *Chemar* (AV "slime") is also used in the building of Babel (Gen 11:3), which Milton describes by allusion to the etymology of *chemar* (12.41-2) and to Virgil's description of the Acheron (Aen 6.296-7; cf. Austin, *Aeneidos Liber Sextus*, 124) in his word "gurge." Milton brings these suggestions together in the passage on the building of the labyrinthine Asphaltic Bridge, which is closely tied to the Genesis account of the Tower of Babel: cf. "slimie" (PL 10.286) with "slime" (Gen 11:3); "crowded" (287) with the migration to Shinar (11:2; cf. 4); "soyle" (293) with the implied source of the "brick" (11:3); the action of the "Mace petrific" (294) with the making of "brick for stone" (11:3); the Bridge meeting "The confines...of Empyrean Heav'n" (321) with the "tower, whose top may reach unto heaven" (11:4). Thus, the "pitchy cloud" of flying devils is a poetic type of the Asphaltic Bridge, which in turn is one form of the archetypal temple-tower, whose original is its 'builder,' Satan. We will see that having assimilated the devils flying towards him, Satan then "Stood like a Towr" (1.591).

⁷¹ See PL 11.729-31, 745-6, 753. "Vessel," after biblical usage (Acts 9:15; Rom 9:22; etc.), can mean a human body (cf. PL 12.559), a sense reinforced by its unit of measurement, "cubit," also related to the body. Philo, for example, treated Noah's ark as an allegory of the body (*Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin* 2.1). "Imbark't" can mean 'enclosed in or clothed by bark' (*OED*, s.v. "imbark"), thus, metaphorically, 'given a (seed-bearing) body.'

⁷² On the catalogue of devils, see esp. Rosenblatt, "'Audacious Neighborhood'"; and Flinker, "Father-Daughter Incest."

⁷³ In *Some Graver Subject*, Broadbent notes that Satan's fate is imaged by how the devils in Hell are treated (85). Cf. Rosenblatt's comments in note 59, above, and my discussion of the macranthropos metaphor, in note 60, above.

⁷⁴ For Rome 'north' was a geographical location of threatening barbarians; in the Bible it is used in the symbolically vertical sense as well, but ambiguously for the home ~~of Gomer~~ of the opposing gods, "because the pole star is the point round which the heavens revolve" (Caird, 225, n. 12; cf. Childs, "Myth and Reality," 88f). Isaiah, adopting this theme from Canaanite mythology, places the mountain of God "in the sides [Heb. *yarekah*] of the north" (14:13), for which see Kaiser, *Isaiah* 13-39, 38-9; Stadelmann, 90; the Psalmist also locates Zion (48:2) there. On the other hand, the North can be the origin of apocalyptic evil, as in Jer 1:14; 10:22; 47:2; Ezek 38:6, 15; 39:2; Dan 11:6; Joel 2:20. Milton, echoing Isaiah's prophecy of the ambitious king of Tyre, places Lucifer's palace on a mountain at "the limits of the North" (5.755ff; cf. 689; 6.79ff); analogously, after the Fall the North becomes the home of "Decrepit Winter" and a host of malign natural forces (10.654f; 695ff). Perhaps it is sufficient to note that Niphateh, where Satan first lands, is north of Eden.

⁷⁵ In Homer's catalogue, the Greek warriors are called to assembly (Il 2.442-3) as are the devils (PL 1.314-30); they are compared to a conflagration (Il 2.455-8, 780; PL 1.62-9; 222-3; 392-6; 2.1013, etc.), and to birds in

flight (Il 2.459-63; PL 1.344-6); and they are numberless as leaves (Il 2.467-8, 800-1; PL 1.302-4) or sands (Il 2.800-1; PL 1.344 with 379). Cf. Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 45.

⁷⁶ Cf. PL 10.300, where the Bridge is called "the Mole immense," with Virgil's description of the Horse: the Trojans, like Satan before the Bridge (350-2), "*molem mirantur equi*," "admire the massive structure of the horse" (Aen 2.32); and Calchas, deceived, exhorts the Trojans, "*immensam...attollere molem*," "to raise up the immense structure" (185). Given that the Trojan wall, like the gulf of Chaos, is labyrinthine and impervious (cf. PL 10.253-4), the Bridge "high Archt" over the deep (301) suggests the terrible "fatalis machina," "fateful seige engine" climbing the walls of Troy (Aen 2.237), or coming down on the city from above (47; cf. 6.515-16; and Austin, *Aeneidos Liber Secundus*, 33-6, for a summary of the traditions). It is true that "the Wall / Immovable of this now fenceless world" (PL 10.302-3) is already breached, but so is the wall of Troy breached in effect before the Horse is brought up to it--by Ulysses' and Diomedes' prior theft of the Palladium (Aen 2.162-79; Frazer, *Apollodorus* 2:226-9, n. 2; Austin, *Aeneidos Liber Secundus*, 83-5). One may further note that what Beelzebub says about his satanic plan for revenge against God (2.370-6)--which Satan, and therefore his Bridge or concretized "track" (2.1025), follows--is a kind of shadowy, abstract sketch of the siege of Troy, appropriately giving the structure without the imagery: "surpass" (370) suggesting a leaping over or mounting up, as of the wall by the Horse; "interrupt" (371), a breach opened in the wall, to admit the Horse, amidst "Confusion" (372; cf. Aen 2.234ff, 298ff); "upraise" (372), a raising up of some "disturbance" (373)--again, the Horse, a "Joy" (372; cf. Aen 2.239, 260) to its makers; "Hurl'd headlong" (374), the fate of the Trojan "Sons" (373), pushed off the top of the wall to the level of the invaders below (cf. Met 13.415-17, 435-8; Tryphiodorus, *The Taking of Ilios*, 644-6); and "curse" (374), the mourning of the Trojans over their "faded bliss" (375; cf. Aen 2.3-13, etc.).

⁷⁷ Fowler, in his note to PL 1.392-521 (67), makes the number exact, but his list is incorrect (he misses Chemos-Peor, Astoreth-Astarte, Rimmon, makes the Baalim and Ashtaroth singular, and otherwise bends the evidence), though the point is still useful if not made too fine. Milton seems to avoid the precision demanded by numerology.

⁷⁸ PL 1.399-403; 415-17; 443-6. The "Hill" is "the mount of corruption" (Heb. *mashechith*, ruin, destruction) in 2 Kings 23:13, which in the Vulgate is the *mons offensionis* (*mons corruptentis*, J-T), and thus Milton's "offensive Mountain" (443). The 'opprobrium' he attributes to it (403) is in this context a specifically sexual shame; cf. PL 10.222 and, for example, Met 8.155, where Minos' "obprobrium generis" refers to Pasiphae's copulation with the bull. The "scandal" (1.416) is the complimentary religious infraction.

⁷⁹ For the theme of sexual perversion in the demonic catalogue, see Rosenblatt, "'Audacious Neighborhood,'" 561-3; Broadbent, *Some Graver Subject*, 92-3; "Milton's Hell," 174-6; Summers, who notes the congruence of lust and hatred and remarks that, "The confusion of sexual desire with the desire for death is an ancient perversion" (91; see 89-90). In biblical terms it appears to begin with the Fall (cf. Gen 3:3 with 3:7 and 4:1); one of Milton's central insights is that the form of sexual desire coeval with the Fall is a perversion of an unfallen desire, for which see Boyette and PL 4.748-9.

⁸⁰ In Milton's time 'obscene' could mean "offensive to the senses" as well as "offensive to modesty or decency" (*OED*). Neither it nor *L. obscenus* is a biblical word, though I think the semantic domain of *obscenus* is biblical enough. It combines sexual obscenity (e.g., Met 9.347; *Fasti* 6.631; etc.) with

the sense of the ill-omened, ominous, or portentous, as at Aen 12.876, where the Furies are the "obscenae volucres," "birds of ill-omen," or at 7.417, where hateful, snaky-haired Allecto, "Gorgoneis... infecta venenis," "steeped in gorgonian venom" (341), is said to have a *frons obscena* or "loathsome appearance" that when Turnus sees unconcealed has a truly gorgonian effect on him (445ff).

⁸¹ Rosenblatt points out that Milton's "lust hard by hate" (1.417), usually taken to refer to 1 Kings 11:7, might also refer to Lev 18, "where the prohibitions against sacrifices to Moloch appear amidst those against sexual impurity" ("Audacious Neighborhood," 559), and that Baal-Peor was identified with Priapus (560, citing Fuller, *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*). Flinker, "Father-Daughter Incest," notes the link between Chemos and Priapus in Selden, and connects ritual prostitution with the worship of Chemos-Peor, Astarte-Ashtoreth, and Thammuz-Adonis (117-18, citing Selden and Sandys, 492); he also cites Gen 19:30-7, where Moab is the son of Lot and his elder daughter (118).

⁸² Deut 18:10; 2 Kings 16:3; see William Robertson Smith, 236-7, and cf. Hercules' apotheosis in Ovid, Met 9.262-72; and Sir Thomas Browne's comment in the first chapter of *Hydriotaphia*: "Others conceived it most natural to end in fire, as due unto the master principle in the composition according to the doctrine of Heraclitus: and therefore heaped up large piles, more actively to waft them toward that element" (97). In the Bible one also thinks of the three children in Daniel, who survive such a passage. Cf. Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 132-3, on the furnace of Moloch as a place of "uncreation."

⁸³ See Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 133-4; 145, n. 5; Flinker, "Father-Daughter Incest," 119f; Cohen, *The Throne and the Chariot*, 63-4; Broadbent, "Milton's Hell," 174-5; Collett, "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology," 88, 91.

⁸⁴ Astoreth and Astarte are Near Eastern counterparts to Aphrodite, for my purposes primarily the lovely and terrible mother of Eros.

⁸⁵ See Rosenblatt, "Audacious Neighborhood," 559-60; Cohen, *The Throne and the Chariot*, 61-4.

⁸⁶ The spiritual and sexual chaos of Belial's followers is, like the sexual heat of the Sodomites, reflected in the form of judgment they obtain. Thus the poet's "flown" (1.502), used to describe their intoxication, is the past participle of both 'fly' and 'flow,' in the latter case meaning "become liquid" (OED, s.v. 'flow,' v., 2), i.e., 'dissolve'—precisely the action of the waters of primeval chaos. The Sodomites' "wine" is, in the Bible, the discovery of Noah, who repeats the action of the Deluge by getting drunk and lying shamefully exposed (a form of sexual chaos). The poet has Adam and Eve precede him in this (9.1008ff).

Chapter 6: A Wilderness Threshold

The old question of theodicy -- why in the supposedly good world God created, evil is so powerful -- resounds through *Paradise Lost*. In a sense the whole poem is Milton's answer, his justification of the ways of God to men, but *Paradise Lost* also contains other, more limited answers whose value lies in what they tell us about the answerers. Satan's reply to a form of this question put to him by Gabriel, for example, reveals his cowardly self-interest, but it also restates the question in a particularly interesting way. To Gabriel's innocent, forceful inquiry, "Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd / To thy transgressions...?" (4.878-9), he contemptuously answers,

To thee no reason; who knowst only good,
But evil hast not tri'd: and wilt object
His will who bound us? let him surer barr
His Iron Gates, if he intends our stay
In that dark durance: thus much what was askt. (895-9)

Indeed, God has permitted it, just as he permitted Satan's first stirrings from the fiery Lake, "That with reiterated crimes he might / Heap on himself damnation" (1.214-5).

What animates this truth, however, is not to be found in such sentences alone but in the stories that are their context. In the present case the story is of Satan's eruption from Hell, when escape was strangely not prevented. Like Job the reader may well be unsatisfied with the bare doctrine of divine justice and may wonder why Sin is God's jailor, that is, why evil is allowed

such easy access to the world of man. In the following chapter I will show that the reader's question is fully answered in the language of metaphor with which the story of Satan's adventure at the gates of Hell is told. That adventure, like the other liminal events we have examined, is an apparent victory of evil in which the real defeat of evil is concealed; hence it provides a genuine answer to Gabriel's question and to the larger, implied question of theodicy, and it is thus an indication of how the exodus paradigm is essential to the poet's intended justification of God's ways in the fallen world. In the reader's experience of the poem, the unfallen world is, as it were, framed by the open gate of Hell: Satan's experience there defines how he -- and therefore how part of us -- will relate to Paradise.

I.

As is characteristic of Satan's liminal confrontations throughout, his vision of Sin and Death at the gates of Hell is preceded by a wandering approach that helps establish its context and meaning. Satan is actually two wanderers. The first is Daedalus, the archetypal trickster-craftsman and builder of the labyrinth,¹ whose fame as deviser of mechanical contrivances becomes significant to our understanding of Satan when he meets the labyrinthine Sin before her intricately mechanical portal, as will appear. Once past the portal, Satan's flight from his self-reflecting (and in some sense self-devised) prison is further defined by allusion to Daedalus' flight from the labyrinth of his own making, or more accurately, to the mortal flight of his son Icarus, a youthful double of his father and a boy who like Phaethon is in Ovid's account called *ignarus*, 'inexperienced' or 'unaware' (cf. Met

8.196 with 2.100), and whose flight is therefore a rash or premature act. Satan resembles him, "cum puer audaci coepit gaudere volatu / ...caelique cupidine tractus / altius egit iter," "when the boy began to rejoice in his daring flight and allured by the desire for the heavens directed his path higher" (Met 8.223-5):

As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides
Audacious, but that seat soon failing, meets
A vast vacuitie: all unawares
Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
Ten thousand fadom deep.... (2.930-4)

The vertical separation of Icarus from Daedalus suggests the perfective judgment Satan receives in chaos, and to this image of judgment is joined another: his fall "plumb down" into the watery confusion echoes the judgment of the hardened Pharaoh and his crew, who "Submersi sunt quasi plumbum in aquis vehementibus," "sank as lead in the mighty waters" of the Red Sea (Ex 15:10, Vulg and AV). Thus, although the clever Satan seems to succeed in his flight, once past the infernal portal he is also falling[#] the eternal fall of the damned, who in metallurgical terms are indeed base metal. The allusions raise this question: what happens at the portal to turn the escape of the clever into the demise of the rash? The nature of Daedalian cleverness will lead to a preliminary answer.

As I argued before with respect to Tantalus, the shadow of Daedalus is with Satan from the beginning. It becomes less of a shadow with the increasing presence of labyrinth imagery, and it resolves into an actual allusion with the building of Pandaemonium, which is a kind of labyrinth.² The architect of

Pandaemonium is Mulciber (another name for Hephaestus, the divine counterpart of Daedalus), but we have been shown by the assimilative significance of the demonic catalogue that Satan recognizes Mulciber as an aspect of himself, and Satan's machinations in the demonic council, though not literally mechanical, emphasize a Daedalian talent for 'design.'³ In council, Beelzebub skillfully sets the stage for Satan's assumption of the great quest by paralyzing the competition with images of its extreme difficulty. He asks, "what *evasion* [will] bear him safe" (2.411), echoing the Sibyl's warning to Aeneas of the real difficulty awaiting him, "*superasque evadere ad auras*," "to escape to the upper world" (Aen 6.128), but primarily suggesting the necessity for "evasion" (trickery), a characteristic of Odysseus as well as Daedalus. Then, however, he refers to the quester as one who must "spread his aerie flight / Upborn with *indefatigable* wings / Over the vast abrupt" (2.407-9), and so resolves the generalized trickster figure into the specific *fatigatus Daedalus* (Met 8.260-1; Juvenal, *Satires* 3.25), to whom Satan shortly conforms when "with thoughts inflam'd of highest design, / Puts on swift wings" (2.630-1).⁴

Daedalus' flight from the labyrinth on Crete assumes an epic context in the *Aeneid*, in which his initial destination is Cumae, the threshold of the lower world where he designs the gates and the apotropaic labyrinth diagram that delays Aeneas (Aen 6:14-33; cf. Norden, 120-3). The parallel between Daedalus and Aeneas suggests that the former is the negative analogue of the latter. Thus Satan, as both the archetype of Daedalus and the parody of Aeneas, confronts at the gates of Hell a 'Cumaeen' portal into a lower world flanked by apotropaic devices of his own making, by which he is delayed and perfected in his craft according to the talion principle, which specifies that the

consequences of evil action (e.g., the conception of Sin) act finally upon the perpetrator. Then he journeys on, apparently upwards but, as the allusion to Aeneas' catabasis indicates, actually into ever lower worlds, towards a place where he is to become architect of the labyrinthine paths that delay man's quest and perfect him, though in the opposite sense.

The other analogue to Satan on his way to the gates of Hell is the merchant adventurer,⁵ who likewise establishes a context for the demonic portal. Bringer of "spicie drugs" (2.640) he is purveyor of "beneficent and agreeable" substances, as Martz points out (89), but spicy, medicinal substances also have a sinister echo. Satan, the spice-merchant, is the original of the Ishmaelite spice-merchants who carry Joseph, type of all mankind, into a kind of spiritual death in Egyptian bondage.⁶ More generally, he is like a sea-going merchant in the demonic sense given all voyaging in Ovid, where it manifests "*fraudesque dolusque / insidiaeque et vis et amor sceleratus habendi*," "tricks and deceit and snares, and violence and the accursed desire of gain" (Met 1.130-1)--various aspects, that is, of the demonic eros Satan has already gathered into himself. Beyond this local significance, however, the merchant adventurer motif links Satan's exodus to a complex pattern of terrestrial and cosmic movement and places the gates of Hell in the context of a purgatorial metempsychosis.

In various ways Satan's journey to the cosmos is implicitly identified with the Platonic notion of metempsychosis, the journey of the soul, liberated from its body by death, to the upper world.⁷ The "huge convex of Fire" that forms the vault of Hell (2.434), for example, alludes to the classical model of the

cosmos, with its fiery vault, the destination of the disembodied, and therefore liberated, soul.⁸ Also, Belial's free-wandering eros (2.147-8; 221-2) suggests the soul's wanderings (Plato, *Theaetetus* 173e-4); the games by which the devils entertain themselves (2.528ff), funeral games for the 'departed' Satan, who thus begins the heroic journey of the dead;⁹ and, among the many, the metaphors of the "livid flames" (1.182), the "Autumnal Leaves" (302) and the swarming bees (768-75), which by allusion to their Virgilian counterparts, we saw, liken the demons to the dead souls, first thronging the entrance to the lower world, then madly longing for release into further incarnations.¹⁰ Anchises, explaining this longing to Aeneas, places it in the context of a cosmic system of purgatorial progress (6.724-51), so that the allusion in *Paradise Lost* brings with it an analogy of the gradual perfection that the biblical quester must undergo, and therefore implies what will happen to Satan. Furthermore, in the Neoplatonic elaboration, only the truly virtuous soul can remain; the others, burdened with the weight of earthly thoughts, sink through many deaths of the spirit back into the defilement of the body (Macrobius, *Commentary*, 1.11.10). Thus, following what we will see is a profound spiritual defeat for Satan in his victory over Eve, like the dying and polluted being he is, Satan similarly completes the transmigratory circle in his return to the place of defilement.¹¹

This circular transmigration is not specifically alluded to in the merchant's journey, but the merchant's specific route and direction, "stemming nightly toward the Pole" (2.642), links his merchantile quest to a strand of imagery that depicts a great circular journey on the terrestrial sphere. (To follow this journey a map is very useful.) Roughly, the beginning and the

apparent goal of Satan's quest are by this journey mapped onto the same terrestrial location, suggesting his ultimate failure, and the gates of Hell onto the extreme north, as is appropriate to the demonic enemy. Given the Neoplatonic framework for demonic transmigration, however, a more significant implication for the crisis at the gates emerges: what happens there, it is suggested, somehow marks a profound spiritual failure and a great downward turning point in Satan's career, the point at which (to return to an earlier image) Daedalus becomes Icarus.

The great circle begins with the Persian-Indian splendour of the demonic king in his precinct, "which far / Outshon the wealth of Ormus and of Ind" (2.1-2). Then, as Satan is soaring up towards the gates of Hell, he is likened to a fleet sailing "from Bengala, or the Iles / Of Ternate and Tidore" off southern India (638-9); afterwards rounding the southern extremity of Africa, "stemming nightly toward the Pole" (642). When he reaches the infernal gates, Satan meets one vexed like "Scylla bathing in the Sea" between Italy and Sicily (660-1), who is compared to "the Night-Hag" bound for Lapland (665)--the direction of her flight is not specified, but the location is clear--and one whom he opposes like a comet in "th'Artick Sky" (710), the northernmost point. Their confrontation, apparently the crux I mentioned, is then compared to clouds moving southward over the Caspian Sea (716). Later, when he is perched on the cosmic shell, Satan is likened to "a Vultur on Imaus bred" (3.431), that is, on the chain of mountains bordering the north of India, from whence he is about to descend, more successfully than "the roving Tartar" (432), "To gorge the flesh of Lambs or yeanling Kids" (434) on the hills of fertile India--now the type of prelapsarian Paradise, another royal precinct,

which Satan comes to usurp. From there he alights south-west of the Imaus mountains on the summit of Niphates (3.742), "th' Assyrian mount" (4.126) thus associated with another biblical enemy from the north, and near the reputed source of the Tigris, later named as the river that supplies the paradisaal fountain.¹² On his first approach to Paradise Satan implicitly follows its southward course from the mountain, like the initial admixture of the waters of death his later entry into Paradise confirms (4.223ff; 9.74-5), into the enclosed precinct. Another kind of return to the point of origin is suggested by the poet's comparison of the odours smelled by the approaching Satan to those "Sabea Odours from the spicie shoare / Of Arabia the blest" that distract sailors coming from the southern tip of Africa into the Indian Ocean (4.159-65), these returning to the general location from which the former fleet sailed, hence metaphorically returning Satan to his home in the metaphorical Levant. Thus the great terrestrial circle is closed, and that closure suggests the nature of Paradise for Satan.

The mapping of both Pandaemonium and the Edenic Paradise onto the same terrestrial area, I suggested, requires the distinction between the southern Levant as a type of Paradise and as a type of demonic splendour, whose urban archetype is Pandaemonium. The latter 'paradise'¹³ is, of course, a parody of the fertile hills and streams Satan comes to spoil, but a more useful way to think about this is to consider not what Paradise is independently of the demonic observer but what Satan thinks it is. Later we will see in detail that the imagery which seems to enter Paradise with him leads us back to the Narcissus complex, hence to the typical threshold event of the demonic exodus, but a brief example here will help clarify the fundamental circularity of his journey,¹⁴ whose deeper significance the crisis at the gates of Hell reveals.

As I have remarked before, unfallen Niphates is with Satan atop it "th' Assyrian mount" (4.126), just as the Paradise he first invades, whose delights he sees "undelighted," is "this Assyrian Garden" (285-6). The fearful adjective refers to the most ferocious and obviously demonic of biblical enemies; its initial purpose is, one supposes, to refer to the kind of place the paradisaal site will later support. In *Paradise Lost*, however, such proleptic metaphors do more than anticipate the future: as Harding suggests in another context, prolepsis can be a figure of speech for an eternal present, hence a vehicle of prophecy in the biblical sense.¹⁵ Thus, since prophetically Assyrian tyranny is eternally present in the person of Satan, the juxtaposition of such fallen imagery to him suggests what Paradise is in his sight, hence what garden-of-the-mind he in some sense 'enters': a place of earthly pleasures thinly concealing a baser reality of tyranny and death. The brief catalogue of inferior gardens in Book 4 (268-84), by importing into the poem garden imagery that is in context undeniably demonic,¹⁶ then only to dismiss it, in part represents Satan's mental landscape, as I will argue in Chapter 7.

A sense of the closure or imprisoning circularity of Satan's exodus can also be observed in its symmetry, which I can indicate by a radical simplification. Let us consider this journey as a traversal of four mountains: Hell, a kind of volcano "belching outrageous flame / Farr into Chaos" (10.232-3), which the traveler scales from within, and having done so has his fateful colloquy at its summit; two intervening peaks, the cosmic verge (compared to Imaus) and Niphates, where he chooses downward paths; and Paradise, whose summit he first explores and to which returns by another ascent from within.¹⁷

In Paradise he again has a fateful colloquy, again with a goddess-like figure, mistress of the place, whose body is, like Sin's, identified with the realm she keeps. There are other parallels between Sin and Eve,¹⁸ some of which I will examine in due course, but at present the significant fact is the repetition, reflection, or symmetry characterizing the two poles of Satan's journey. At both are manifestations of the archetypal enclosure with its goddess of containment; their differences (Eve can never be exactly the same as Sin, though they are metaphorically identical in one context) are due to the fact of Satan's 'impure' state. As I argue in Chapter 7, he can in some sense see Eve's goodness (e.g., 9.457-67), though he chooses to respond to it by trying to make her more like Sin. Like many tourists, he is attempting to make a foreign place that is as far away from home as he could get, as much like home as possible.

Such symmetry is, of course, not necessarily demonic. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, the structure of biblical history imposes on events the symmetry of archetypal 'repetition,' in which the end of the quest mirrors the beginning, for ungodly and godly alike. T. S. Eliot has said it very well:

And the end of all our exploring
Will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first time.
"Little Gidding," 5

What separates apocalyptic from demonic mentalities can be expressed as the quality of the mirroring vision at the point of arrival or, as I have suggested, the quester's choice of action or response to what he sees. Ovid's

story of Narcissus pointedly begins with a reversal of the Delphic command--Tiresias prophesies the youth will live "si se non noverit," "if he never know himself" (Met 3.348)--which may suggest to us that Ovid is telling only half of a greater, more complete story. Milton in fact supplies the other half in the episode of Eve's vision in the pool, when with divine help she turns aside from the charming illusion to embrace "hee / Whose image thou art" (4.471-2), finding in him her true self, as biblical man finds himself in his God (cf. Gal 2:20; 1 Cor 6:15; etc.). Satan's confrontation with Sin and Death at the gates of Hell is, approximately, a reenactment of what happens to Narcissus and a reversal of what happens to Eve: he turns aside from a vision of himself in Death to embrace a projected hypostasis of his own evil in Sin.¹⁹

II.

If Hell as a whole corresponds to the Egypt of the exodus, then the crisis at Sin's portal is a demonic parody of Israel's liberation from its bondage there, which is confirmed in part by the fact that both events involve a colloquy between jailer and jailed. In the biblical story the might of an older settled order attempts to restrain nomadic upstarts who have been their slaves, and this is at first sight what the situation at the gates may suggest, Sin being Heaven's jailer. Yet if so, God becomes a kind of Pharaoh, which should suggest a typical demonic projection, as Satan later confirms in his misunderstanding of Sin's purpose declared before his angelic captors (4.897-9), with which I began this chapter. Satan is thus again a demonic Moses attempting to lead his people out of captivity, facing his pharaonic opponent and winning his release, though significantly not with the unbending

opposition of the biblical Moses. (In a sense Moses, an adopted son of Egypt, meets a kind of self-image in Pharaoh, but like Eve he is led to reject the false, imprisoning selfhood for a true, liberating one.) Satan compromises, he enters into league with his pharaonic jailers, and indeed afterwards appears in the pharaonic role of pursuer invested with the might typically attributed to heathen kingdoms.

When, for example, Sin opens the gates, their width is measured by the metaphorical egress of "a Bannerd Host" of "Horse and Chariots rankt in loose array" (2.885-7; cf. Ex 14:6-9, 28; 15:4); and making his way through chaos, Satan is shortly afterwards likened to a monster of pursuit, "a Gryfon through the Wilderness" attempting to recover his stolen gold (943-7).²⁰ Milton's simile raises the question of whom the pharaonic monster pursues and makes the most obvious answer -- mankind -- unsatisfactory without a crucial qualification, for only in Satan's eyes has man stolen what properly belongs to him. Again it would seem that the object of demonic wrath is a demonic projection, and the Narcissus complex makes us suspect that he (Pharaoh) pursues himself (the demonic Moses).

The situation at the gates of Hell confirms our suspicion. The basic configuration there is a familiar one: a portal between the worlds flanked by apotropaic monsters, implying some form of perfective ordeal.²¹ That Satan is perfected in his evil is evident in the fact, mentioned before, that he approaches with force and having learned "his lore" (2.815) leaves by guile. As at earlier thresholds, he is presented with provoking self-images that he recognizes and accepts,²² and by so doing he hardens or confirms himself in his course.

Satan's ordeal comes in several parts. First Death, his son, asks him a question typical of the biographical remarks with which he is confronted throughout his exodus; the significance of these remarks lies in the fact that for him not to refute them means a tacit admission of his sin and the hopelessness of his situation.²³ Death's question consists of a brutally accurate portrait of Satan and a defiant assertion of the son's superior might and station (2.689-703). Despite his initial flourish of strength--"Incenst with indignation Satan stood / Unterrifi'd" (2.707-8)--he has apparently met his match, and if Satan's inability to brush Death aside does not exactly confirm Death superior, he is at least equal, and Satan does not (or cannot) refute what Death has threateningly uttered. Furthermore, by accepting his "fair Son" (818), he implicitly accepts a self-portrait more damning than Death's verbal abuse. Death himself is, as it were, the visual form of a statement of identity: being Satan's son he is metaphorically Satan in a developed form. In the Bible father and son are metaphorically identical in the sense that they share a common life, or in William Robertson Smith's terms, participate "in one blood" in which their individualities merge (40-1; cf. Robinson); they are differentiated not merely by accidentals but typologically by the same sense of emerging revelation that characterizes events in time. That Satan and Death are in this sense identical establishes the latter as the former's Narcissus image, given who they are;²⁴ that they are quite different does not negate the fatal correspondence but adds to it, as I just suggested, the perfective evolution implied in the exodus. In plain terms, Death is a reflective vision of Satan's future, just as Sin is in her deformities (i.e., his eternal present that he, now time-bound, can only

perceive as future), and by accepting them at the threshold Satan in some sense commits himself to a path of disintegration.²⁵ His choice is the opposite of Prospero's climactic act, when at the end of *The Tempest* he says of Caliban, "this thing of darkness I / Acknowledge mine" (V.i.275-6).

The effect on Satan of Death's challenge is also immediate: aside from the show of strength (cf. 2.721-2; 12.386-95), his rising to meet Death's provocation is his penultimate assumption of force, and like his later challenge by the apprehending angels in Paradise (who to him are a Narcissus vision),²⁶ this one inflicts on him a perfective defeat by a self-reflecting agent of God. Thus Death, whose ordeal of force continues for Satan in Sin's ordeal of guile, is "the hellish Pest" (2.735), who is in part the Harpies, "pestis et ira deum," "plague and wrath of the gods" (Aen 3.215), driving Satan as the "harpy-footed Furies hail'd / At certain revolutions all the damn'd" (2.596-7) in his abandoned following; and in part their biblical analogue, the plagues of Egypt. As God says to the satanic Pharaoh through Moses,

For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence (Vulg *peste*); and thou shalt be cut off from the earth. And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power....(Ex 9:15-16; cf. Ezek 38:22)

Elsewhere in the Bible *pestis* (pestilence) is a metaphor of the demonic agency by which the demonic is punished (cf. Jer 14:12; 21:7,9; Ezek 5:12; etc.), and here in its Egyptian form it shapes and perfects evil by hardening Pharaoh in his course. I have already mentioned that God later confirms Sin and Death to be his agents.

The obvious sense of the narrative is that Satan is about to escape his "prison strong" (2.434) and to embark on an ascending centripetal quest towards his eventual Promised Land. It is clear, however, that the parody ascent must be a descent in reality; and one can suspect that it is both centripetal and centrifugal (into further confinement and concentration of evil, and from coherent angelic form to dissolute weakness and a wandering dispersal). Sin is thus both the last and most formidable of the imprisonments of Hell he must escape from--its numinous female embodiment--and the divinely-appointed guardian of the world he desires to enter and intends to transform into such a place as Sin herself represents. Speaking as I will show the poem demands, one must say that Sin is metaphorically 'female' in either case: on one level she is the imprisoning womb from which Satan emerges, parodying Israel's birth from the maternal Egypt; and on another she is the enticing womb his demonic eros compels him to penetrate, manifesting the Egyptian longings of the wanderers for whom all Promised Lands are forms of Egypt.

The familiar configuration of a gate flanked by apotropaic agents establishes the iconography of entrance, and what happens there conforms to the paradigmatic ordeal of initiation, including the recitation of a demonic 'creation' story. Many details support the general impression. "Before the Gates" we see "On either side a *formidable* shape" (2.648-9), recalling what Aeneas, "*trepidus formidine*," "trembling with terror" (Aen 6.290), sees before descending through the infernal doors (though he, the *pious* wanderer, significantly does not accept the monstrous shades he finds there): among the many shapes, "*Scyllae biformes*," the "double-formed Scyllas" (286; cf. PL

2.741); and with them the Lernaean Hydra, the Chimera, and Gorgons and Harpies (287-9). Some of these miscreants the abandoned devils find at their Lethean threshold and elsewhere in Hell during their wanderings, which I have suggested is a manifest demonic form of all that Satan experiences. Scylla herself is Sin's primary classical analogue, and for a very good reason.

I pointed out earlier that although Aeneas does not pass through the perilous threshold flanked by Scylla and Charybdis as did Odysseus before him, he crosses a metaphorically identical one at Cumae, where he must confront their close relations. In *Paradise Lost* one finds the two locations identified. Like Aeneas at Cumae, Satan faces formidable shapes at what for him is the entrance to the lower world, but like Odysseus remembered through Aeneas, he also passes between two monsters at a maritime portal and suffers a significant loss of strength (Scylla devours six of Odysseus' men). Thus Sin recalls "Scylla bathing in the Sea that parts / Calabria from the hoarce Trinacrian shore" (660-1). Though Anchises identifies hoarse-voiced Trinacrian Aetna with Charybdis, Milton chooses not to name Charybdis until later, with consequences worth noting. When after Satan leaves Chaos' throne, he is "harder beset," the poet notes,

And more endanger'd, then when Argo pass'd
Through Bosporus betwixt the justling Rocks:
Or when Ulysses on the Larboard shunn'd
Charybdis, and by th'other whirlpool steard. (2.1016-20)

The Argo is the first ocean-going ship of classical legend, and, in Ovid, an image of the world's corruption; its passage through the Symplegades²⁷ in

quest of the Golden Fleece at Colchis -- where Jason steals it with the help of Medea, princess of that place -- is another useful analogy of Satan's crossing through peril to the upper world. Like Homer's Scylla and Charybdis and his *Planctai* or Wandering Rocks (Ody 12.59-111, 201-59), the Symplegades exact a price for passage (*Argonautica* 2.572ff), so that again one has an image of Satan's judgment. The force of the selective repetition (Sin being more like Scylla, "th' other whirlpool," 2.1020, and chaos more like Charybdis) is not merely to point out the metaphorical identity of the two thresholds but more importantly to suggest the extension, as it were, of Sin's threshold through the ordeals of chaos, in the manner of a labyrinth.

Satan's confused and bewildered path through chaos confirms the labyrinth (later explicitly solidified into the Asphaltic Bridge, as I have argued), but the extension of Sin's portal is a preliminary sign that her threshold includes, and in some sense contains, the whole of Satan's exodus to the cosmic verge, if not beyond. When he stands at that threshold "Pondering his Voyage,"

...Nor was his eare less peal'd
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with small) then when Bellona storms,
With all her battering Engines bent to rase
Som Capital City....(2.920-4)

Satan is in fact hearing the sounds of what one afterwards sees in the Asphaltic Bridge, the archetypal siege-engine laid up against the violated walls of the sacred cosmic city -- and Satan's stairway of dissolution leading him backwards into Hell. With some justification, then, one can speak of Sin's

portal as containing everything beyond it. The poet means this 'containment' to be taken quite literally, that is, metaphorically, and further details will show exactly how this is indicated.

Details of the formidable gate develop the suggestion that it provides entry into the remainder of Satan's journey rather than the obvious exit from his confinement. Earlier Satan had complained of the *ninefold* "convex of Fire" (434-6), which alludes to the fate of souls in Virgil's lower world, longing for escape:

fas obstat tristisque palus inamabilis undae
alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet.

Fate bars the way, and the grisly swamp of hateful water binds [them], and the ninefold Styx, spread out, surrounds [them]. (Aen 6.438-9)

When Satan sees them more closely, however, the nine folds of his imprisonment resolve into thrice three, just as labyrinthine, but now suggesting in the associations evoked by the component materials more distinctly the outside of a great fortress:

...three folds were Brass,
Three Iron, three of Adamantine Rock,
Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire...(2.645-7)

The number of folds is unchanged, but there may be some significance in the different reckoning with threes. Classical literature attests to a host of monsters who come in threes, including Cerberus, who guards Hell's entrance;

Hecate; and the Furies and Fates, all three-formed and distinctly relevant. These latter ones again suggest the link between gatekeepers and gates that I will use shortly to make my point in another way. The brass folds could perhaps refer to many ancient structures, but the most prominent is Babylon as described by Herodotus, with its hundred gates in the circle of its wall, all of bronze, containing the great ziggurat and surrounded by an enclosing stream (1.178ff). In Isaiah's oracle to Cyrus, however, brass (bronze) gates signify the destruction of that city's imprisoning might by an outside force and the release of treasures hidden within: "I will go before thee," God declares,

and make the crooked places straight: I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron: And I will give thee the treasures of darkness and hidden riches of secret places...(45:2-3)

Satan, of course, makes the straight places crooked, but he also offers his 'servants' such hidden riches in secret places, into which they are eager to enter.

The iron folds of the gate of Hell are ambiguously connected with both entrance and egress, especially as from the Egyptian furnace, but those of adamantine rock refer to something that with Aeneas we see only from the *outside*, though spirits such as Satan are contained within--Tartarus, the great infernal city:

...triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
porta adversa, ingens, solidoque adamante columnae,

vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi exscindere bello
caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,
Tisiphoneque sedens, palla succincta cruenta,
vestibulum exsomnia servat noctesque diesque.

girt by a threefold wall, which a rushing river surrounds with
torrent flames, Tartarean Phlegethon, that whirls around the
thundering stones. In front the gate, huge, and pillars of solid
adamant that no power of men, not even the gods, might be able to
destroy in war; there stands an iron tower ascending to Heaven; and
Tisiphone, sitting girt with a bloody robe, sleepless guards the
entrance by night and by day.

(Aen 6.549-56)

In both *Paradise Lost* and the *Aeneid* we recognize the archetypal goddess of
the enclosed space, here girt with bloody garments as her city is surrounded
by the burning flood, or "impal'd with circling fire," as Milton puts it
(647). She is sitting outside the enclosure, in the forecourt (*vestibulum*).

After Sin has been persuaded to open the Tartarean gates, she first "the
huge Portcullis high up drew, / Which but her self not all the Stygian powers
/ Could once have mov'd" (874-6), thus echoing the permanence of the
adamantine pillars of Tartarus; but more significantly, the otherwise
immoveable portcullis confirms our sense of Satan's impending entry into the
world above. A portcullis is the vertically sliding frame or grating capable
of rapid descent in defense of a gate, and so placed normally on the *outside*
of a fortified portal.²⁸ Furthermore, Sin's opening of the noisy gates, with
their "impetuous recoile" and "Harsh Thunder" of the grating hinges (880-2)
recalls Tisiphone's parallel act, when "horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae /
panduntur portae," "the sacred gates are thrown open, grating on harsh-
sounding hinges" (Aen 6.573-4), to admit the guilty souls into Tartarus after
she has judged and scourged them (cf. Blessington, 6).

Likewise, Sin, "the Portress of Hell Gate" (746), is comparable to that other and more general guardian of Virgil's lower world, Charon, the *portitor horrendus* or "fearful harbour-master" (6.298) who conducts dead souls across a watery barrier into the infernal regions. Though not explicitly like Charon until she and Death build the Asphaltic Bridge by which a world of guilty souls makes its descent, Sin is Satan's *portitor horrendus* in another sense. In a metaphor I will soon examine, Sin's story of her birth reveals her as his daughter by a kind of parthenogenesis; she is the female embodiment of his own evil (according to the metaphor of 'conception') and therefore in a sense the portress of Satan's initial fall. Now, like Narcissus' watery lover, she is his portress into a weaker and more evil state. In Aeneas' catabasis the Cumaean Sibyl appeases Charon with her words and with the golden bough, a curious kind of "passport" (Knight, *Vergil*, 158); here Sin, more like the Sibyl, appeases Death with her prophetic words, but Satan must appease them both, must become the kind of person whom they will let pass, which in the Virgilian context means a kind of death. Sin's Cerberean progeny remind us that like the three-formed Hell-hound, to whom Aeneas flings "*melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam*," "a soporific morsel with honey and magical herbs" (420), Sin and Death also exact a passage-price, namely "a place of bliss" (832) and voluptuous enjoyment (840-4), their Promised Land. Finally, when Satan does get past them and reaches the infernal verge, like Aeneas he sees an infernal vision, "this wilde Abyss, / The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave" (910-11), containing far within the dark throne of a chthonian king.

Earlier I pointed out that the devils' entry into Pandaemonium was hedged about with metaphors of enchantment and illusion, signifying their figurative descent or downward metamorphosis into a world of dissolving reality. Sin herself variously represents this dissolution, and by coming under her power, Satan again 'enters' such a world. For one thing, the birth of Sin is not only a projection of Satan's selfhood into its female compliment but also a metaphor of the development of evil, signifying by her allegorical nature an essential degeneration or loss of quintessential reality.²⁹ This loss or dissolution continues in the genealogy of Satan's offspring: Death, also allegorical, is pointedly even less substantial, and his progeny, the Hell hounds whose only feature is a gaping mouth, complete the suggested development. One is reminded of the quasi-creatures of the biblical Wilderness and the portentous, numinously-charged ruins they inhabit on the fringes of reality. Following the comparison of Sin to Scylla (of whom more shortly) we get a brief though aptly general reference to "the Night-Hag" (2.662) and her "Lapland Witches" (665), and later, another to "the Snakie Sorceress" (724). All these are Wilderness creatures in my sense.

Sin's Cerberean dogs are compared to those that follow this Night Hag,

...when call'd
In secret, riding through the Air she comes
Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
With Lapland Witches, while the labouring Moon
Eclipses at thir charms....(2.662-6)

The Night Hag's closest relation in classical myth is probably Hecate, goddess

of enchantments and crossroads, hence a kind of portress, or as Theodor Kraus calls her, a "Schützterin von Tür und Tor" (106),³⁰ and in Rahner's phrase, "the canine mistress of Hell," to whom dogs were sacred (242; cf. PL 10.616). She is the infernal form of Diana, goddess of the moon, which is here labouring under her power, and so is a poetic antitype of Galileo's moon, to which Satan's shield was likened earlier (1.286-91); hence she is the lunar "Arbitress" (785) to whose world of dissolving reality the devils entering Pandaemonium metaphorically assimilate themselves, as we saw. As an antitype she offers a clearer form of that lunar spirituality, and we note that at least in his approach to her Satan occupies the position to which Galileo and the "belated Peasant" (783) were formerly subjected. Like the Hag, Hecate is certainly a goddess of witchcraft and enchantments, though her power over the moon is not hers alone; Virgil, for example, compares lunar witchcraft to Circe's power over Ulysses' men (*Eclogue* 8.70), and we recall that it is Circe who transformed Scylla (*Met* 14.40-67). The Hag's desire for the blood of infants belongs neither to Hecate nor to Circe, but in the *Ars Poetica* (340) Horace refers to Lamia, a witch who sucks infants' blood, and she turns up also in the Vulgate as a translation for the Hebrew Lilith (*Isa* 34:14),³¹ mother of demons, child-killer, and archetypal Wilderness spirit, sight of whom is typically gorgonian.³² The Lapland witches who dance with the Hag (2.664-5) come from what one might call the Etruria of the north: to their respective neighbors both Etruscans and Laplanders were famed for the dubious practices of witchcraft and sorcery,³³ and both are thus geographical metaphors for the kind of mental world Sin represents. The parallel between Satan coming under the power of a Lappish Sin and the devils whom we earlier saw "on th' oblivious Pool" (1.266) under Etrurian shades suggests the extent of Satan's progress and provides another metaphor of demonic circularity.

In an equally general allusion Sin is called "the snake Sorceress" (2.724). The etymology of "sorceress" (fr. L. *sors*, lot, fate, oracular saying) suggests a mistress of fate and oracular powers, one who speaks the will of the gods, as Sin in fact does at this point. In classical myth such a one is found in the Pythoness at Delphi, of whom more in a moment, and on the divine level in the Fates themselves, whose primary activity is said to be the spinning or weaving of destiny, so that man is thus bound to his fate.³⁴ The sorceress, who verbalizes the bond of fate, and the Circean witch, who binds somewhat more directly, are both aspects of Sin and are both obviously related to the apotropaic device of conditional entry. What makes this relation significant for my argument is the framework of biblical prophecy within which Sin operates: it shows us that although Sin appears to contravene Satan's divinely ordained fate--she fails to keep him locked up--in fact, as I have said before, she is the agent of God's will in every particular.

Sin's first words to Satan are a clever snare, a fatal bond, and a prophecy of his apocalyptic destruction: she calls him "Father" and Death "thy only Son" (these names arrest him), and she warns him of their common end (2.727-34). Biblical prophecy, however, is conditional, so that Satan faces a choice: either to heed the warning implicit in her appearance and explicit in her words, or to ignore it and let fate take its course. He chooses to ignore the warning and to be ensnared by the 'strangeness' of her form and by certain of her words (737), as Eve is later seduced by ignoring the obvious danger signals and by paying attention to what is essentially a decoy (cf. 9.733-8). Apart from the eschatological prophecy, Sin does not reveal the future, but

she determines Satan's fate by reciting his forgotten past, which, like all the other self-images, he confirms and thus makes more firmly his own. In effect her words involve him in a kind of enchantment that has him finally accept what he knows to be "detestable" (2.745), to admit it his own (816-17), and, though he thinks otherwise, to become its servant: to get past Sin he promises to "bring ye to the place where Thou and Death / Shall dwell at ease" (840-1). This servitude or commitment to her, his passage-price, represents on the thematic level what on the metaphorical is a catabasis into the symbolically female body of his own projected desire.

We are not told whether Satan's evident confusion at being called the father of such a son by such a mother is due to a loss of memory or to the severity of Sin's change--both are identical images of the judgment of evil--but its significance may be suggested by the biblical context of 'strangeness,' which normally denotes what is perilously alien in the religious sense. As I pointed out in Chapter 3, forbidden gods, their idols, and their religious rites have a deadly, enervating effect in the Bible; they are often gorgonian visions of horror, as, I suggested, Sodom was to Lot's wife. Among the abominations of the earthly Promised Land, for example, Deuteronomy lists witchcraft in various forms, including the use of "a consulter with familiar spirits" who in the Vulgate is called one "*qui pythones consulat*" (18:11). The apostate king Saul, for example, in his last desperate act goes to consult the witch of Endor, the "*mulier pythonem habens*" (1 Sam 28:7) or the *pythonissa* (1 Chr 10:13) through whom he learns his then virtually inevitable fate. These *pythones* or "familiar spirits" trace their lineage in name and function back to the monstrous Python, the chthonic

serpent of Delphi, whose oracular sorceress was named the Pythia long after the serpent himself was slain.³⁵

Much becomes clear when one sees the resemblance of Sin, "the snake Sorceress" sitting atop Hell, to the Pythia or Pythoness, another sorceress associated with serpents. In ancient tradition, she sat over the *stomion* (Gk. little mouth, vagina) at Delphi, whose name the Greeks connected with *delphys* (womb),³⁶ awaiting her chthonic inspiration from below, which, as Lucian says, was the voice of a serpent;³⁷ and early Christian apologists interpreted her possession by the snake-spirit as its entry from below into her exposed vagina.³⁸ Sin's position is almost precisely identical, and if she is a Pythoness then Satan, the Infernal Serpent, is the great Python--so he is called later after he returns to Hell (10.531)--who inspires her, as the Python did his priestess, to awake from idleness to pronounce her fateful prophecy and relate her story of origins.

Thus facing Death just before approaching her,

...Satan stood
Unterrifi'd, and like a Comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiucus huge
In th'Artick Sky...(2.707-10)

If this fiery comet³⁹ is a metaphor of the demonic possession of Serpens (the Serpent) -- who is gripped by Ophiucus (the Serpent-holder), an ironic image of the Infernal Serpent's divine opponent -- then Serpens is the needed serpent-spirit about to enter and inspire the priestess Sin at her

northernmost portal. Closer to my immediate purpose, however, is the link between the opening of Hell and the snaky sorceress' *stomion*. The implication is that Satan's path, hence his Promised Land, is within the body of Sin,⁴⁰ into which he enters as he did once before, when her allure was more apparent. It may also suggest, parallel to the birth of Israel from Egypt, that Satan is emerging from the hellish womb of Sin, but even so he is born into "The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave" (2.911), just as the pythonian spirit emerges from chthonic depths to invade the mental depths of one who metaphorically becomes the human representative of the Terra Mater.

Sin's story of her birth and subsequent fortunes, and therefore her significance for Satan, should now be clear. The birth is suitably demonic: violent, volcanic, and self-accomplished, it obviously alludes to Athena's from the head of Zeus,⁴¹ but perhaps more significant is the concealed allusion to Myrrha and Cinyras in Ovid, his principal tale of incestuous love (Met 10.298-518).⁴² The parallel between Sin and Myrrha is extensive,⁴³ but I need note here only some aspects. Initially one is struck by the correspondence between the birth of Adonis from Myrrha, impregnated by Cinyras, her father, and the birth of Death from Sin, similarly impregnated; and though Adonis and Death appear quite dissimilar in other respects, their juxtaposition is not merely fortuitous. Adonis, the dying god, is one of the central figures in the classical apotheosis of nature, which in my terms is a dying world whose worship resolves into the eros of death (cf. Lieb, *Dialectics of Creation*, 133-4). Viewed from this central identity, the erotic and possessive love of the Adonis cult and the violent and nihilistic lust of Milton's Death are two aspects of the same thing, as with Belial and Moloch,

and they correspond to the parody and manifest demonic levels. Nevertheless, Adonis and Death are also quite dissimilar, and one must account for the difference to see a deeper and more significant identity.

If one considers as a simultaneous pattern the two contiguous stories in the *Metamorphoses* that involve Adonis, then the dying god becomes the central figure in whom the other principal characters meet. In the first story he is the incestuous child and thus the solidification of that dark union of father and daughter; in the second he is the common object of desire for both Venus and the boar; both pursue him, the one wishing for, the other achieving a sexual consummation. Thus two sexual pairs converge on Adonis from either side of his life, and in each pair the female figure represents the erotic-possessive and the male the violent-nihilistic aspect of demonic eros. Though Adonis is primarily of Belial's kind rather than of Moloch's, his position within the structure of Ovid's two stories establishes his relation to the manifest demonic, and thus to Death.

Nevertheless, when Satan stands before Sin and Death he is or quickly becomes, in his guile and pupillage to the maternal Sin, something at least momentarily more like Adonis than Cinyras. Indeed, Death complements this reversal, for he who is in Adonis' position by force of the parallel I have just described plays the Cinyras to Sin's Myrrha. When he comes forth from her "brandishing his fatal Dart" (786), he recalls the incestuous father emerging from the darkness of his union with Myrrha to chase her off with his brandished sword. Seeing her for the first time, Ovid says, "pendenti nitidum vagina deripit ensem," "he snatched his shining sword from the hanging sheath"

(475), and in the sexual innuendo of that act thus described,⁴⁴ Ovid identifies the murderous rage of Cinyras with sexual passion, just as Milton does for Death (cf. 2.790-1). Thus Cinyras can be identified at this stage with both Satan and Death, just as Adonis can.

Since Hell is not the appropriate setting for a parody demonic Adonis--he is a creature of the melancholia belonging to the fallen world--the Venus and Adonis story cannot come fully into play in *Paradise Lost* until later, when Satan in the Serpent (like the boar, a beast of penetration) confronts Eve and becomes the dying god under the influence of the powerful love-goddess (9.440), as I will argue in the next chapter. At that moment of confrontation the structure I have been describing, only partially visible at the gate of Hell, emerges fully developed: Satan becomes the parody demonic form of his son, Death, or that aspect of Death that appears the victim; and hence he becomes in one sense Sin's child and the child-lover of the love-goddess that is Sin's parody demonic imitation. Satan at the point of victory over Eve is so much the dying god, weak and subjected, that he seems not much the boar; but Death, the beast of death to whom he later gives control of the earth, is about to ravage it, and that beast's victim is ultimately Satan.

That is the larger pattern. For the moment the most significant thing is again that all which lies beyond the gate is for Satan metaphorically within Sin's body: Satan becomes the youthful dying god by entering the body of a maternal goddess according to the archetypal pattern of death and rebirth. In this way one can see that the metaphors of uterine regression and release are not as much the real and apparent senses of what happens at the gate but

complementary aspects. If Hell is an Egypt, Satan's escape is a birth from Sin; if all beyond Hell is an Egypt, then it is a *regressus ad uterum*; and it is both: a death to a past self and a birth to a new.

III.

I observed earlier in Sin's parthenogenesis a metaphor of Satan's self-love, but I still have to come to grips with her female sex, that is, her otherness for him. In Ovid's story of Narcissus, the youth has two principal 'visions' of selfhood, the first auditory (in Echo), and the second visual (in the watery image); there the heterosexual metaphor is an imperfect vehicle of what Narcissus seeks and later finds in the homosexual image of what he takes to be himself. What Ovid did not develop--as Milton does through Sin--is the implicitly female sex of the lower, watery world Narcissus finally enters. Among other possibilities Sin's birth from Satan is a demonic version of Eve's from Adam, neatly reversing Eve's redemption from her downward-tending Narcissus image, for unlike Eve both in sex and in choice, Lucifer turns from his apocalyptic vision of the Son to embrace his self-reflecting emanation: as Sin puts it, "Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing" (2.764). She is symbolically female and therefore capable of becoming his first self-reflecting demonic Promised Land, something from which he is apart or excluded and is driven to penetrate.

Later, when Satan is before the metamorphosed Sin at the gates of Hell and can no longer imagine her his Promised Land, he describes his newest vision of promise--the distant cosmos--in an image that implicitly identifies his

daughter and the distant world with a characteristic form of the demonic imagination. The promising cosmos is, he tempts Sin (and himself), "Created vast and round, a place of bliss" (2.832), which, though accurate enough a description of the unfallen cosmos, is a parody demonic image and therefore requires placement in context. A verbal link gives us just that. In Sin's first epiphany in the poem, the observer's eye is immediately drawn from her vague upper parts to her more sharply defined nether region:

...Woman to the waste, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fould
Voluminous and vast, a Serpent arm'd
With mortal sting: about her middle round
A cry of Hell Hounds never ceasing bark'd
With wide Cerberian mouths full loud, and rung
A hideous Peal: yet, when they list, would creep,
If aught disturb'd thir noyse, into her woomb,
And kennel there, yet there still bark'd, and howl'd
Within unseen....(650-9)

Thus Sin's pudenda, like Satan's cosmos, are circular and "vast": not so much spatially extensive as undefined in the human sense, something like the poet's chaos, "the vast and boundless Deep" (1.177; cf. 2.409; etc.), or more closely, his Hell, "this vast recess" (2.254). I have noted that Hell begins not as spiritually and emotionally neutral but with the features of the biblical wasteland or ruined habitation. A place without human meaning is a biblical Wilderness such as the godless tread, whatever its topography, and this is precisely the meaning of "vast" derived from the Latin *vastus* and still present in our word "devastated." In classical Latin literature it is applied, for example, to Avernus, fallen Troy, besieged Rome, and Charybdis,⁴⁵ and the Vulgate uses it to describe the Wilderness: having just accepted the

evil spies' revelation of their Promised Land, the faithless Israelites envision the Wilderness in essentially identical, self-reflective terms, saying, "Utinam mortui essemus in Aegypto: et in hac vasta solitudine utinam pereamus," "Would that we had died in Egypt; would that we had perished in this vast Wilderness" (Num 14:3).⁴⁶ The vastness of Sin's pudenda, once an enclosed place of desire, is thus the vastness of both Hell and Chaos, and a portal from and into which Satan goes, but the more immediate identification is with a world beyond also "vast" in Satan's sight, and also "a place of bliss." Again, his Promised Land is within her.

The cosmos, the earth within it, and perhaps Paradise as well are "round" in the geometrical sense, but I think we must ask again what significance circularity has for the shape of Satan's imagination. I have already discussed aspects of this question at length elsewhere; here I will show that Satan's brief characterization of the world resolves through his particular habit of mind into an image that in essential respects is identical to his initial vision of the Scyllaeen Sin.

I argued earlier in this chapter that his journey to Paradise and the larger quest containing it are metaphorically circular in several respects, and that in this case the circle is an image of closure or symmetry and therefore of the futility expressed in pointless, endless, or imprisoning movement, like the cycle of nature (taken in its demonic, rather than apocalyptic, sense) in which fallen life is apparently trapped and whose gods are types of Satan. I also argued elsewhere that the linear movement of time so important to the biblical exodus imposes a progressive development on

demonic circularity that transforms it into a downward-moving gyre, or two gyres: the centripetal and the centrifugal, expressing the patterns of binding and dispersal, respectively. These downward gyres are the manifest demonic kinds to which correspond the two parody demonic gyres of satanic motivation, that is, the apostate ego's eros of penetration or the fear of being penetrated. Central to this fourfold gyre is the metaphor of the sacred precinct surrounded by a defensive structure labyrinthine in function and normally also in shape. These gyres are in fact extensions of the labyrinth along the vertical axis, conditional pathways or extended 'gates' of entry between levels of being, effecting in various ways the perfection of evil essential to the quest motif. That Satan's imagination presents him with a world of desire that is "vast" (i.e., desolated, as in the violated city or sacred precinct become a labyrinthine ruin) and "round"--therefore bounded by the mental forms I have called gyres--is a potent, laconic statement of the self-reflecting vision he is apt to see.

As examples of Satan's tendency to move and to imagine in such ways, one can turn to Book 9 of the poem, in which his complicated approach to Eve repeatedly manifests the labyrinthine image of the "vast and round." From the very beginning of the book this image is of immediate and central concern. I cannot go into much detail, but some brief remarks on the prologue to the book will help to show how Satan's later action is a precise realization of the vision he puts before Sin at the gates.

With the return of Satan to earth for a second assault on his Promised Land, the poem enters its tragic phase within the greater comic structure. In the Bible the Fall means, among many other things, a shift from the rural and pastoral world traditionally associated with the martyred shepherd Abel to the urban one initiated by Cain the cursed wanderer and city-builder, he whose life is spent in the Wilderness and in building fortifications against the Wilderness.⁴⁷ With the ancient *urbs* comes the architectural forms of distinction between sacred and profane space, primarily the fortified wall and conditional gate, and hence also the basis for urban images of violent destruction, such as the broken wall and the ruins inhabited by Wilderness creatures. I have already noted various allusions to urban symbolism, particularly in the building of Pandaemonium (the archetype of what is to come on earth), but with the shift in the poem from pastoral into tragic--into the world of fortified cities and their ruins--the image of the sacred city besieged and fallen becomes a far more immediate and intense concern. Satan's approach to and assault on the Promised Land therefore tends to be expressed as a siege, with particular reference to Troy--which, Rykwert notes, "incarnated the paradigm of urban fate" (148)--and its biblical analogue, Jericho. The poet's explicit repudiation of the poetry of warfare does not, of course, make the siege metaphors any less important, but rather more so for his realization of the demonic, which he thus repudiates.

The decisive shift to the tragic mode is the "foul distrust, and breach / Disloyal on the part of Man, revolt, / And disobedience" (9.6-8), with the accompanying judgment, such as the Israelites provoked and suffered in the Wilderness after Sinai or at the verge of the Promised Land, when like Adam

and Eve they were condemned to wander in the wasteland. Man's disloyal "breach" is not just a breaking of faith, however, but a metaphorically precise breaking apart of the defenses against Satan's assault, "That brought into this World a world of woe" (9.11), personified in the demonic invasion forces catalogued earlier. This is a biblical image: Isaiah compares human iniquity to "a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly" (30:13), and Ezekiel likewise envisions the fall of the unfaithful Tyre (whose king, one recalls, is a type of Adam) to the demonic Nebuchadnezzar, who "shall set engines of war against thy walls...[and] enter into thy gates, as men enter into a city wherein is made a breach" (26:9-10; cf. Jer 14:17; Lam 2:13; Job 30:14). The theme of siege and fall becomes immediately explicit in the poet's catalogue of 'less heroic' arguments, whose named figures not only share Satan's "sense of injur'd merit" (1.98) and his vengeful wrath but, more significantly for my purposes, are all connected with the Trojan War and the heroic quests following it. Achilles, in particular, provides the specific kind of demonic siege or penetration metaphor required, that of the magically effective encirclement.

Earlier I pointed out that Achilles' wrathful pursuit of Hector has the form of a reversed *amburbium*,⁴⁸ a withershins movement designed to neutralize the protective magic of the Trojan walls by the circular pursuit around them of the warrior who is metaphorically the city's defensive strength. Although Satan's encirclement of earth between his expulsion from Paradise and his return--to which Achilles' pursuit is prologue and the Israelites' similar perambulation of Jericho an analogue--cannot be supposed to have any such magical effect, the metaphor is extremely suggestive. As a weakening of

Thus the world is serpent-encircled, round, and (in Satan's mind) bound to be "vast"; and though he does not take on serpent-form until later, he is apocalyptically the "Infernal Serpent" from the beginning. I just observed that the magical effect supposed in the metaphor is purely metaphorical, but caution is necessary here. The deliberateness with which Satan not only stays out of the light but also travels a specific, formalized path suggests his conviction in the potency of what he is doing, and thus the terrestrial *amburbium* (both a binding up and an undoing, as will appear) takes on the ritual quality characteristic of the bound and dissolute world into which the Fall will transform Paradise, a world already existing in Satan's imagination. In an important sense, then, the *amburbium* does have a magical effect that, however illusory, grips and undoes the believer. *¶* Satan's encirclement and descent back into Paradise is not told once but several times; the above passage is the third such telling.⁴⁹ The repetition is itself an expression of that mental 'circling' and converging of desire one sees in Satan's crisis atop Niphates (cf. 4.15-23). In the first telling of his descent, one finds the appropriate image of improvement in evil, "meditated fraud and malice, bent / On mans destruction" (55-6), in which "bent" and "fraud" hint at the labyrinthine form of Satan's perfective circling. The second summary adds the details of circular shape and conditional entry, in that while "compassing the Earth" (59), daylight and cherubic watch apotropaically turn the evil one aside into darkness. In the third, quoted above, darkness and the circular path become yet more explicit. Perhaps the most important aspect of this passage is revealed in the metaphor of the seven nights' ride.

The shadowy goddess Nox (L. Night) may lurk in the immediate background: she is often pictured in a chariot (Aen 3.512; 5.721; *Culex* 202), and in Hesiod she has horrible progeny and Tartarean abode beyond the Atlantean sky-pillar (*Theogony* 211ff). In any case, the ride spans seven days, or rather nights, of darkness, thus both a demonic reversal of creation, and more specifically a demonic parody of the circumambulation of Jericho. Yet there is more to it than that, for as creation in the Bible is both a binding of chaos and a release of life, so Satan's periodic reversal of the patterns of creation takes shape in a centrifugal release of Sin and Death upon the world of Adam and Eve from their "narrow limits" into Hell's vastness (cf. 4.381-5); and a centripetal binding up of its life in what the Psalmist calls "the cords of Sheol" (Ps 18:5 RSV).

Thus the meaning of the "vast and round" in Satan's preliminary image of the world is supplied by reference to its poetic antitypes. I am concerned more, however, with the reverse: the proleptic force of Sin's monstrous physiognomy, by which the world gets deformed in her image. Later on, apparently at the moment of the Fall (cf. 9.1010 with 10.244), the proleptic congruence of Satan's imagined world with Sin, the 'daughter of his thought,' becomes a compelling resonance,

Or sympathy, or som connatural force
Powerful at greatest distance to unite
With secret amity things of like kinde
By secretest conveyance....(10.246-9)

In a sense the "things of like kind" are at that moment Sin and Eve, who has become a dangerous love-goddess by accepting the Narcissus vision she had once rejected, as we will see. For Satan and Sin at the gates of Hell, I think, the later resonance already exists in the morbid narcissism between demonic father and daughter, which is a 'powerful sympathy' by which Satan is (as it were) deformed in his own projected image. To conclude this section I would like to return once more to the metaphor of the self-reflecting vision, and in particular to its relationship with the incest motif, to clarify the nature of this sympathy.

Ovid's Narcissus rejects the heterosexual self-love of Echo for a more perfect self-image in the reflecting pool, although (as I suggested) the pool and the lower world he enters are potentially female.⁵⁰ Milton's narcissism takes several different forms, of which the simplest is the Ovidian variety. In Hell all are fallen angels, hence what Satan "sees / Or dreams he sees" (1.783-4) are beings of like kind, whom he perceives to be part of himself and makes them so, and an appropriately self-reflecting landscape. The more truly perilous vision, however, is not a metaphorically homosexual 'reflection' but a false opposite or sexual compliment, which Satan confronts twice during his exodus. The first of these is Sin, in a vision in which the sexual opposition, a metaphor of 'otherness,' is fused with the motifs of parthenogenic birth and incestuous relation. Thus Sin is not an 'other' seen as an aspect of the perceiver's self, but that self-image purified of all genuine otherness, hence a conceptual, allegorical construct whose limits are precisely those of the selfhood projecting it. Having accepted Sin as his own, Satan is damned thereby to those mental confines--in this way also Sin 'contains' him--but, as

we will see in the next chapter, further constriction awaits him through the second of his false opposites, his vision of Eve as he chooses to take her.

Ovid, on the one hand, works out the entrapment of his self-lover in the long dialogue Narcissus has with himself, and by implicitly comparing Narcissus to Tantalus identifies his theme of frustrated desire, as in the image that Narcissus cannot grasp and the fruit Tantalus cannot reach. Milton, on the other, allows his self-lover to embrace the projected self-image, to reach the tempting fruits, only to find desire more profoundly frustrated by its apparent fulfillment and the desirer more deeply entrapped. That happens, as I just suggested, in the concluding metaphor of demonic temptation and judgment, the tree of ashen fruit (10.547-77), but we can also see it clearly in Satan's relations with Sin. What was the parody demonic sexual fascination with which Lucifer was gripped in Heaven, when he desired his projected selfhood and apparently was satisfied, becomes fascination of another kind at the gates, the drive no longer to possess Sin as such but to possess something distant and unseen that is already becoming defined in her image. That image requires now somewhat more attention.

IV.

Sin is a kind of corporeal labyrinth, as is appropriate to her sex and its metaphorical function for Satan. Thus her nether parts (her *stomion* or the surrounding anatomy) are circular in the labyrinthine sense: she "ended foul in many a scaly fould / Voluminous and vast" (2.651-2). "Vast" we have already examined. The word "voluminous" similarly carries its Latinate sense,

reinforced by the contiguous "fould," of something rolled or wound up, hence "Full of turnings or windings; containing or consisting of many coils or convolutions" (*OED* 1; cf. *L. volumen*). The Latin word suggests a possible analogy with the familiar Virgilian passage in which a pair of serpents, their huge backs curving "volumine," "in a coil," arise from the sea before Troy to crush Laocoon and thus effect the Greeks' entry into the otherwise impregnable city (*Aen* 2.208); in any case the city is that kind of image--the labyrinthine *temenos* with its complementary metaphor of penetrating desire. Earlier I noted that the Virgilian passage links Satan's own arising from the Burning Lake (1.193-4) to the Serpent's seductive progress before Eve (9.494ff). Both allusions in some sense meet in the present vision of what Harding called "fascinated horror" to suggest its self-reflective essence (*Club of Hercules*, 53); the former, in the modality of past time, representing an inescapable former condition; the latter, in the modality of the future, the inevitable result of Satan's accepting the apotropaic vision as his own. Sin's nether portal is indeed apotropaic in the classic sense, for it fascinates or entraps the demonic beholder.

I have already discussed Satan's entrapment by various aspects of Sin's first speech, but now I can complete the picture. He calls Sin and Death a "Sight...detestable" (2.745), yet finally accepts her without apparent reservation. The word "detestable" is very suggestive, for 'detest' (*L. detestor*), like the biblical 'abominate' (cf. *Deut* 7:26, *Vulg*), can mean "To curse, calling God to witness" (*OED*, 1), and thus to avert or ward off apotropaically. When he thus accepts what he has consciously cursed--and that an image of himself--he becomes the agent of his own destruction, again

according to the talion principle. Here a biblical parallel is of interest. When the apostate king Saul goes to see the prophetic witch at Endor, the "mulier pythonem habens," he is reminded that he is thus accepting what he has formerly cursed, and the story goes on to show that Saul does not lay a snare for the witch's life, as she fears, but falls into one of his own making (1 Sam 28:7ff).

As the poem's chief personification of labyrinthine containment, Sin is comparable with two similar 'structures': Hell itself, that is, the final and manifest demonic form of Satan's self-imagined Promised Land; and Pandaemonium, its parody demonic urban counterpart and archetype of all perverted earthly institutions. Like the former she is ruinously vast; like the latter an artifact of the demonic imagination and therefore a kind of automaton. Both Sin and Pandaemonium are thoroughly and profoundly labyrinthine, and hence entry into either means centripetal confinement and centrifugal dissolution, as in their common association with witchcraft and superstition, which are equally forms of mental binding and dissolution. For example, the "hideous Peal" Sin's Hell-hounds are said to ring (2.655-6) suggests the bells of church service, as if summoning all and sundry to worship within, and thus it recalls Pandaemonium, variously compared to church and pontiff,⁵¹ in which the idols of later false worship gather for their own kind of service. To 'ring a peal,' however, can also mean to resound with a large din, such as the din of the Hell-hounds and the "noises loud and ruinous" that "peal'd" Satan's ear at the opening of Hell's gate (2.920-1).⁵² Thus the 'pealing' noise of ruin issuing from the open gates of Hell and from the "Cerberian mouths" of the hounds kenneling in Sin's vast opening (2.655) suggest again the identity of

the two demonic portals, and again lead one back to the archetypal equation of chthonic goddess with enclosed precinct.

Perhaps the identity of Sin's opening and the portal of Hell is most fully understood when one sees that both are aspects of the same apotropaic function. At this crucial threshold evil is metaphorically 'turned aside' into deeper error in several ways: by the labyrinthine horror of Sin's nether portal; by the aural lure of her words and the visual lure they recall; by Death's formidable opposition driving Satan into those entrapments; and by the gate, which though not mentally gorgonian in any obvious way presents a stony and impassible barrier surmountable only *through* Sin.

The gates' "intricate wards" (2.877) perhaps fascinate; that is at least implicit in the kind of apotropaic device to which mechanical contrivances belong, whose mythical deviser is a type of Satan, and for whom such things are self-reflections. The gates, along with Sin and Death, are thus part of the Narcissus vision Satan confronts. I noted that Sin is a kind of automaton; though not mechanical in the strict sense, she is an allegorical artifice, and she is also Pandora's original, the lure made by the gods (i.e., Satan, but stationed at the gates by God) to tempt and entrap the upstart Prometheus (again, Satan, and later, when Eve is Pandora, Adam).⁵³ In fact, when Sin opens the gate with its "jarring sound" and the "Bannerd Host" of human miseries proleptically appear unleashed on the world (2.879-87), Hell becomes the infamous 'box' or 'jar' of Pandora, a metaphor of her sorrow-issuing womb.⁵⁴

Pandora returns us to the obvious sense of the narrative and to the imagery of egress or birth from the fiery Egyptian furnace-womb (cf. 2.888-9). Parodying the birth of Israel, perfected, from the retentive and maternal Egypt, pharaonic Satan is also the demonic pursuer, as I pointed out earlier, hence the width (or destructive power) of Hell's portal is measured in terms of the pharaonic military host's "Horse and Chariots rankt in loose array" (887). Although, as I also remarked, the opening of the gates of Hell echoes with the harsh cacophony of the Tartarean gates, opening to let guilty souls in, its impetuous recoil recalls as well the other metaphors of explosive, volcanic emergence: Death's violent birth; the volcanic evisceration of Aetna (a figure of Satan's arising from the Burning Lake); and, later, the visceral discharge of Satan's priapic cannon (6.584-90), another self-reflecting mechanical contrivance. There are no allusions to Priapus in *Paradise Lost*, but the adjective is apt, for the cannon is indeed a concentrated manifestation of Satan as compulsive penetrator and, finally, cosmic rapist; and in its visceral glut one sees another aspect of demonic eros as well, the centrifugal dissolution, or self-destructive death-wish.

Satan's apparent birth from Egyptian Hell parodies the biblical pattern of release from the confining womb to the freedom of a paradisal Wilderness wandering, where the godly were sustained by the "corn of heaven" (Ps 78:24); and to the fulfillment atop the paradisal breast-mountain (Isa 66:11), "the mountain of thine inheritance" first glimpsed at the Red Sea threshold (Ex 15:17). Yet as with the godless Israelites the two ascending gyres are reversed in experience: Satan's centrifugal release proves a dissolution, an

interminable wandering in a deadly self-reflecting wasteland; and the centripetal ascent to the summit of the created order an ever narrower path converging on ultimate stasis. Satan's apparent birth is thus a kind of death, not Hamlet's "consummation / Devoutly to be wished" (III.i.63-4) that is a form of Egyptian security, but the end-less wandering within the illusions of projected desire. The incest motif shows us that like Cinyras Satan passes through a situation in which the longed-for satisfaction of desire--ultimately a death-wish for return to peace within the universal mother--becomes an entrapment within the seeker's own selfhood. Satan does not appear to realize his situation until the crisis on the summit of Niphates, when he is reminded by the physical sun of his initial vision of the spiritual Son, and like Ovid's Narcissus verbalizes his dilemma (4.1-113). Nevertheless all the essential elements of the dilemma are assembled at the gates of Hell, and nearly the full manifest demonic import of Satan's catabasis is made clear.

In the previous chapter I showed how Satan gathers to himself the whole spectrum of evil distributed across the landscape of human promise, and in the present chapter how he unites himself with the fateful images of his past and of his future. Standing at the utmost verge of Hell he is thus consolidated in both space and time, hence ready to embark as Hell itself to encompass the cosmos "vast and round, a place of bliss." My investigation of the crisis at the gates, however, has been primarily concerned with the manifest demonic reality that runs counter to the obvious sense of the narrative and yields upon persistent examination the vision of Satan's self-engulfment. Through metaphor one can see that his apparent penetration of a paradise from which he has been excluded is a ruthlessly compulsive penetration to the core of his

own desire. Some of what he finds, that is, some of the non-being that he finds there, will be the subject of the subsequent chapter, but the shape of that non-being, "If shape it might be call'd that shape had none...Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd" (2.667,9), should be sufficiently clear already.

I have shown that the incest motif is really another of the poet's explorations into the Narcissus complex, and perhaps one can also see how precisely relevant it is to the exodus structure. The reader will recall that when the faithless spies enter the Promised Land, they see a manifest demonic reflection of their own Egyptian selves, that is, the enveloping natural order as a devouring monster within which they appear trapped. Similarly, on the verge of his Promised Land Satan enters the symbolically female body of his own projected selfhood. At first, like the horrified spies, he rejects the 'sight detestable,' but then, manifesting the judgment of God that condemned the errant Israelites to their forty years of wandering, he accepts and enters.

Notes to Chapter 6

¹ For a comprehensive discussion of Daedalus, see Pauly-Wissowa, 4.2:1994-2008; and Hanfmann. What I offer here is an explanation of his potential as a type of Satan, based on those studies and an examination of the original sources.

Daedalus is the heroic double of the god Hephaestus (otherwise, Vulcan or Mulciber); in Ovid's phrase, "ingenio fabrae celeberrimus artis," "a man most famous for his genius in the builder's art" (Met 8.159); and the master of complicated structures and the deviser of captivating images, to whom "uncanny superhuman skill" is attributed, and whose name is significant, "for artful works were called *daídala*" (Hanfmann, 309-10). As his story is told, he begins an inventor, but having murdered his rival Perdix, he becomes the dark figure who first builds for Pasiphae the means to satisfy her monstrous passion and then for Minos the structure in which to hide the monstrous result. Both Pasiphae's wooden cow and Minos' stone labyrinth are structures of deception, a proclivity to which seems essential to this kind of culture hero, and to Daedalus in particular.

The labyrinth deceives by offering an entrance or exit that proves false, the cow by another and more interesting form of deception, the simulation or imitation of life. Daedalus' cow is not the only such thing he made: his statues were famed for their lifelike realism--"He first made figures which had open eyes, walked, and moved their arms from their sides" (Hanfmann, 310). Interestingly, Plato refers to Daedalus' automata to illustrate the nature of runaway thoughts and elusive definitions (*Meno* 97d-8; *Euthyphro* 11b-e, 15b). The automata and likenesses of Hephaestus, his divine double, are better known: the tripods and handmaidens of gold and various other marvellous things (Il 18.373ff); the gold and silver guard-dogs (Ody 7.91-4); Talus, the brazen guardian of Crete (Apollodorus, 1.9.26; Apollonius Rhodius, 4.1638-93; cf. Frazer, *Apollodorus*, 118-9 n.)

Studies of classical and medieval human automata show that their association with either facilitating or inhibiting passage is essential to their nature (Bruce; Ogle; Coomaraswamy, 539-40). Hence the automaton can be a kind of apotropaic engine, unique among other apotropaic devices because of its mechanism and lifelike movement but having in common with them the conditional power to arrest movement. Though some automata manifest this power in physical violence and bulk (e.g., Talus; the Symplegades; Milton's "two-handed engine" in *Lycidas*), what seems essential to many if not to all of them, as to deceptions of the *trompe l'oeil* kind, is the human fascination with the artist-craftsman's mimesis of the creator's art, specifically its lifelikeness. If imitation can be thought of as a kind of mirroring, then the trickster-craftsman's mimetic work becomes a potential Narcissus vision to the one mirrored, its power of fascination potentially chthonic, ensnaring. Bruce remarks that the introduction of human automata into medieval romance "was no doubt favored by the common notion of the Middle Ages, ultimately derived from the patristic writers, that oracles were really the voices of evil spirits concealed in images of the pagan deities" (515, n. 1). The idea of the idol as the container of its numen is actually much older; it is, for example, found

in the biblical *beth-el*, a survival of the primitive worship of local spirits, and is very much involved in biblical prophecies against idolatry (Isa 44:9-20; 46:6f; Ps 115:4-8; etc.), which condemn the delusive eros with which the worshipper invests the idol and by which he is enslaved.

The automaton thus seems to be a spiritual trap or apotropaic device with essentially the same mode of operation as all the others. As Eliade has pointed out, "Hephaestus is, above all, a master 'binder'" (*History of Religious Ideas*, 1:266). Perhaps, then, we can say that as surely as his invisible net binds Ares and Aphrodite (Ody 8.266ff) and his golden throne Hera (Pausanias 1.20.3), automata--of which he is creator--can bind the onlooker in self-reflective fascination. The Daedalus-Hephaestus figure, maker of images, labyrinths, and automata, is thus the personification of that which misleads, deceives, and conceals, the one for whom the labyrinth is a self-image.

² On Pandaemonium as a "perverse ziggurat" and prototype of the Tower of Babel, see Lieb, *Poetics of the Holy*, 155-6; Low, "The Image of the Tower," 171-2, 174-5, and *passim*. Pandaemonium is a type of labyrinth in several ways: (1) as a demonic temple-tower, and specifically the demonic archetype of the Babylonian ziggurat and Egyptian pyramid (PL 1.694; cf. 717-22); (2) as the architectural realization of Satan's command to "work in close design" (645-7; cf. note 3, below); (3) as the end-product of a reclamation effort that parallels Joshua's invasion of his Promised Land (typified in the assault on labyrinthine Jericho) and, for example, Aeneas' ritual act, when he "humili designat moenia fossa / moliturque locum...[et] cingit," "marks out the walls with a shallow trench and works the place [and] encircles it" (Aen 7.157-9; cf. 5.755-7), i.e., constructs magical, labyrinthine defenses, for which see Chapter 5, pp. 185-6, and note 12; (4) as a structure (in Levy's words) "built by music," like the walls of labyrinthine Troy (250; cf. PL 1.711-12); (5) as a structure with 'folded' doors (1.724), anticipating the gates of Hell (2.645) and the shape of the "mazie foulds" (9.161), hence the "Labyrinth of many a round self-rowld" (183), of the serpent in which Satan hides his "dark intent" (162); (6) as the container of a nucleus of secrecy, in which the devils forge the "bold design" (2.386) "Earth with Hell / To mingle and involve" (383-4); (7) as a kind of mortuary temple, whose entry is a chthonic descent to the world of the dead, suggested by the comparison of the swarming devils to bees (cf. Rosenblatt, "Milton's Bee-Lines"; Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 104-8; "Milton's Bee-Simile"; Blessington, 7-8), which in part is an allusion to dead souls in the Virgilian underworld, longing for the light and another incarnation (Aen 6.703ff); and therefore, finally, (8) as a place of essential confusion and mental dissolution, suggested by further comparisons of the entering devils to pigmies--to Milton's readers, fabulous creatures on the fringes of the known world (Pliny 7.2.26-7), thus analogous to the dubious creatures of the biblical Wilderness (cf. Vulg "Pigmaei" in Ezek 27:11; cf. J-T "Gammadaei")--and to the belated peasant (1.781-8), enthralled as if in a dream-world governed by the lunar arbitress of mutability (cf. Eliade, *Patterns*, 154ff; Horace, *Epodes* 5.49-54) and hedged about by darkness and by visual and aural charms. Thus the ascending centripetal gyre of Pandaemonium as demonic ziggurat is also a descending centrifugal one, and both are forms of the labyrinth.

³ 'Design' is a key word: see PL 1.646; 2.386; 630; 838; 3.467; etc. Although it can mean simply 'scheme,' through L. *designo* it has a very specific mythical context, as I suggested above in note 2. Aside from the passage in Virgil I cited in that note, see the detailed description in Ovid,

Fasti 4.807-62, where Romulus "inde premens stivam designat moenia sulco," "pressing on the plow-handle marks the walls with a furrow" (825); these are the walls of the city "victorem terris impositura pedem," "about to set its victorious foot upon the earth" (858). See Frazer's note in *Fastorum libri sex*, 3:379-84, where he connects this operation with protective magic and cites the ancient authorities; and Rykwert, Chapters 1-4. The story of the foundation rites of Rome comes into play again at PL 4.179-83, when Satan leaps over the protective wall of Paradise; there Milton alludes to the fatal act of Remus (Livy 1.7.2-3) and others, for which see Knight, *Vergil*, 111-12. The implication of Satan's crossing is that he suffers a kind of death (he who leaps over is, like Remus, normally killed), i.e., a metamorphosis at a conditional threshold, metaphorically into "a prowling Wolfe / Whom hunger drives" (4.183-4), morally into a state of "contempt" (180), etc.

⁴ See Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.12; *Met* 8.155-62; and 220-30, where the flight of Daedalus, like Satan's (2.632-5), similarly involves right and left, sky and ocean surface.

⁵ This role is anticipated by his first movement towards the shore of Hell; see Grant McColley, 103.

⁶ See Chapter 2, pp. 89-91.

⁷ See, for example, Plato, *Phaedo* 79c-d; Cicero, *De Re Publica* 6.26; Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, with the excellent notes by Stahl; and my analysis of Satan's reaction to the beauty of Eve, Chapter 7.

⁸ For the fiery vault of heaven, see *Met* 1.26-7; cf. Virgil, *Eclogue* 4.50-1; for the soul's destination, Cicero, *De Re Publica* 6.26.

⁹ Cf. the games at the funeral of Patroclus, a departed hero inseparable from Achilles, whose vengeance against Hector (which results in the fall of Troy) means his death (*Il* 23); the games at the funeral of Anchises (*Aen* 5.104ff); and, more obviously, the amusements of the dead in Elysium, who are similarly left behind when Aeneas departs beyond the gates of death (*Aen* 6.642-59). Kern points out that the funeral games have three possible (and interrelated) meanings: (1) protection of the dead from destruction; (2) protection of the living from the dead by a sealing or binding up of the grave; (3) symbolic conduct of the dead soul, who travels the labyrinth traced by the celebrants into the lower world (107).

¹⁰ See Chapter 5, pp. 215f and note 61.

¹¹ Cf. the declared purpose of the Asphaltic Bridge, "for intercourse, / Or transmigration" (10.260-1), by which Sin apparently intends to mean the upward migration of demons, or in terms of Plato's myth of Er, the assumption of bodies "as thir lot shall lead" by the disenfranchised spirits of the dead (10.261; cf. Plato, *Republic* 10.617d-621b); but which also suggests Satan's downward metempsychosis, as well as the forced migration of mankind from the paradisaal home downward into the captivity of the fallen world, figured historically in the Babylonian captivity of the Jews (*OED*, s.v. "transmigration," 1).

¹² See Chapter 5, note 24.

¹³ 'Paradise' is fr. Gk. *parádeisos*, first used by Xenophon of the parks, orchards, or pleasure grounds of the Persian kings and nobles (*OED*); cf. Heb. *paredes* (Neh 2:8), the Persian king's "forest" (AV).

¹⁴ For the circularity of Satan's journey as noted by various critics, see the Introduction, note 5.

¹⁵ *Club of Hercules*, 100; cf. 87-9. Tayler comments that, "It is this typological feeling for time that dictates Milton's reliance on the figure of *prolepsis*, defined by Puttenham as a 'maner of speach purporting at the first blush a defect which afterward is supplied...'" (64). Cf. the rhetorical study

of Tchakirides; and Whaler, 1036. According to the *OED*, prolepsis is "The representation or taking of something future as already done or existing" as well as "anticipation." Prolepsis in *Paradise Lost* is a very complex matter, extending to the question of the potential for evil in the unfallen world and related matters; see Giamatti, 299ff; Harding, *Club of Hercules*, Chapter 4; and my discussions in Chapter 5, note 2 and in Chapter 7, pp. 327-9 and *passim*. The "Assyrian Queen" in *Comus* (1002) is quite a different matter, since in that context we see her from the opposite perspective (Adonis is "Waxing well of his deep wound," 1000).

¹⁶ For Daphne's "sweet Grove" (4.272-3) and the *asherah* to which it alludes, see Chapter 7, pp. 343-4. For the other inferior gardens, note the following:

(1) The "faire field of Enna" (4.268-72) is on Sicily, about 50 km. inland from Aetna, under which, according to Ovid, Typhoeus lies buried; his struggles caused Dis to come up from Hades, whereupon he spied and snatched away Proserpina (Met 5.346ff; cf. PL 1.230-7). Proserpina, like Eve, is a ravished virgin who must descend into the world of death and whose bond with it is sealed by the eating of fruit (cf. PL 9.396 and Chapter 7, pp. 345-6. Ceres' search for her is an analogue of Christ's for fallen man (cf. PL 4.271-2 with 12.312-14, and note the legendary Harrowing of Hell).

(2) The waters of the "Castalian Spring" at Delphi (4.274), which supposedly intoxicated the Pythia, are "inspir'd" by a chthonic spirit (Lucian, *Hermotimos* 801, etc., cited by Parke, 26), just as the waters of Milton's *Paradise* become 'inspired' by Satan, who also inspires Eve to eat the intoxicating fruit (cf. PL 4.804-9; 5.86-90; 9.793ff, 1008ff). For the Pythia, see pp. 283-4.

(3) Nysa, a paradisaal island (Diodorus 3.68.4-69.4), has a cave that curiously opens into a place of sunlight and flowering plants, recalling the archaic motif of the subterranean paradise found in Virgil, for which see Chapter 2, pp. 105-6. The story of Ham (Gen 9:22-5; Vulg *Cham*) is the earliest biblical account of sexual exposure (aside from Adam's and Eve's), and the consequent shame and desolation, a motif usually connected with the ruined city and enervate idol (cf. Isa 47:1-3; 1:29-30); hence Sandys' remark that Ham is the one "from whom Idolatry had her originall" (251). Noah's curious curse of Canaan, Ham's son (9:25), identifies the father's sin with Canaanite spirituality, and thus drunken Noah's exposed pudenda with Canaanite cult objects (cf. Speiser, 62), such as the *asherah* alluded to by the word "Grove" (PL 4.272; cf. Ex 34:13; etc.). "Ammon" and "Lybian" refer to Jupiter's assumption of bestial form to hide from the wrath of Typhoeus (Met 5.321-31), hence by analogy to Satan's concealment, as in the Serpent, from the wrath of his imagined pursuer, a Narcissus image. Finally, "florid" Bacchus, the vigorous god of intoxication whom Sandys identifies with Noah (197), is yet another image of concealed shame. One might say that the image of Ham gazing upon the gorgonian sight of drunken Noah sums up what Satan sees (or, perhaps, what he makes of what he sees) in *Paradise*. For the Nyseian Isle as a type of satanic paradise, see Gallagher, 17; Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition*, 278.

(4) Mt. Amara, a fortified precinct by "Nilus head" (4.283), images *Paradise* threatened by the watery serpent.

¹⁷ MacCaffrey notes that the world- (or cosmic-) mountain is the basis for the geography of *Paradise Lost* (32-3, 56), indeed for the structure of the poem (59).

¹⁸ In *Dialectics of Creation* Lieb notes the birth of Death as parallel to fallen birth in pain and sorrow (158), and Sin and Death going forth to

possess their new world as a demonic Eve and Adam (176-7); Sims in *The Bible in Milton's Epics* that both Sin and Eve are f(5ales seduced by Satan to violate a divine commandment and that both are paired with serpents (57-8); Harding in *Club of Hercules* that "Eve's birth is reminiscent of Sin's"--both are full-grown at birth, ravishingly beautiful, created in the image of their progenitors, and born from the left side (Harding thinks this a Miltonic invention to point the parallel)--and that both are immediately involved with a Narcissus vision (74-5). Cf. Ferry's contrast of the two (132-3) and Tayler's combination of comparison and contrast to show the pattern of "anticipation and fulfillment" (71), i.e., the typological structure of the poem (69-71).

¹⁹ In *Dialectics of Creation* Lieb notes that "Sin is a projection of Satan's own egotism" (170). Ferry points out that Sin and Death are "the creatures of Satan's disordered imagination" (131-2), and that Sin "is not of 'one soul' with Satan but a kind of mirror reflecting his image" (133). Ferry's brief statement of satanic narcissism touches on a complex problem I discuss in this and the following chapter.

²⁰ Cf. the Israelites' spoliation of the Egyptians (Ex 3:21-2; 11:2-3; 12:35-6; Ps 105:37), which Childs identifies as "the taking of spoils from a defeated army after a military victory" (*The Book of Exodus*, 177).

²¹ Durr notes that Sin and Death are threshold guardians in a typical hero's journey (521).

²² Zweig has noted the importance of the Narcissus myth for the events at the gates of Hell (109-10), a theme I will develop in the following; his other remarks on *Paradise Lost* are not as reliable.

²³ See the biographical remarks at 2.689-99; cf. 990-8; 3.677-80; 4.38ff; 823-43; 1006-15; etc. This question or statement of identity is a variety of what Greene calls the epic "recognition scene"; he points out that "The most important recognition scenes in epic are not between two people but between the hero and his mortality" (15). Thus Satan is frequently confronted by images of his degeneration that he recognizes or is forced to recognize. Sometimes this recognition is contained in the words of another, sometimes of Satan himself in self-reflective contemplation; since it is a verbal or Echoic form of the threshold vision, it slides imperceptibly into all varieties of speech by Satan and by others to the degree they are affected by his presence.

²⁴ As many have noticed, Satan, Sin, and Death parody the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but the correspondence is not exact. Milton expresses the essential difference in the metaphor of Satan's incest with 'the daughter of his thought,' a form of morbid narcissism (Macpherson, 75-6) that the demonic son, being a developed form of his father, repeats. I will discuss the incest theme below.

²⁵ "Satan's children, Sin and Death, unveil to their reluctant father the deformed side of his nature; Sin, herself once a beautiful goddess, now serpentine and hideous, predicts what Satan is to be. The monsters that abound in the vestibules and farthest reaches of Hell, the 'Gorgons and Hydras and Chimeras dire' (2.628), shadow forth the transformations that await Satan's angels" (Revard, 272-3).

²⁶ The imagery at 4.977-90 can be read in the two ways corresponding to the two opposed sides. From Satan's view, the angels are formidable opponents, but essentially a self-reflection. The "mooned hornes" (978) suggest the bull-cult associated with Egyptian and Canaanite religion in the Bible (Ex 32; 1 Kings 12:28ff; cf. PL 1.482-9) and in Ovid, where the goddess Io (or Isis) appears to Telethusa with "lunaria...cornua" (Met 9.688-9), which like Milton's "mooned hornes," which translates Ovid's phrase, occur in conjunction with

ears of ripe (therefore yellow) grain; cf. "cum spicis nitido flaventibus auro," "with spikes yellow with bright gold" (Met 9.689), like the horns, another symbol of fertility and natural power. The comparison of ears of grain to drawn weapons (PL 4.980-3) is a classical commonplace, attested in L. *spica* (point, ear, spike), used by Ovid in the previous quotation; Milton's phrase, "ported Spears" translates an epithet of Ceres, the *spicifera dea* (e.g., Manilius 2.442), again a reference to fertility coupled with warfare. The primary vehicle of Satanic tenor is, however, the "bearded Grove of ears" to which the angels' spears are compared (982). 'Bearded' is a common metaphor of ripe grain (e.g., Pliny 18.10.53), but it is equally common for pagan gods (cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3.34.83-4; Petronius 58, where *barbam auream habere* means *deus esse* (cf. Persius Flaccus 2.55-6); Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.8.2-3; Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 35); note especially the word "Grove" in the phrase in question, for which see note 16, above. On the demonic level, then, one can read "the careful Plowman" as a metaphor of Satan, a grim but fearful reaper who, like Virgil's rustic, is from the biblical perspective a prisoner of fallen nature: in fear he must watch the months and signs of heaven (*Georgics* 1.335ff). All these allusions can be read in precisely the opposite sense, but that is my point: what they mean is a function of the perceiver.

²⁷ On the Symplegades (Gk., 'that strike together'), see Apollonius Rhodius, 2.549-610; Ovid, Met 15.337-9. On the subject of such conditional portals, see Cook's essay, "Floating Islands," in *Zeus*, 3.2:975-1015; and Coomaraswamy.

²⁸ The placement of the portcullis with respect to an inner, hinged gate is specified by Vegetius in his *Epitoma rei militaris*, an ancient manual of Roman military practices that had a "very considerable influence...upon the military thinking of the Middle Ages and Renaissance" (Watson, 111). Vegetius notes that for protection of the main gates,

amplius prodest, quod invenit antiquitas, ut ante portam addatur propugnaculum, in cuius ingressu ponitur cataracta, quae anulis ferreis ac funibus pendet, ut, si hostes intraverint, demissa eadem extinguantur inclusi (131).

For a translation I quote from the 1572 London edition, *The Foure Bookes of Martiall Policie*:

But that is more profitable whiche in the olde time hath beene invented, that before the gate there should be a fortresse, in the entring wherof is a perculles, hanging with rynges of Iron and ropes: that if the enemies should enter in, the same being let down, they might bee enclosed and destroyed (fol. 52v).

Winter confirms this arrangement in Greek practice (264-8), as does Toy for medieval English fortifications, in *Castles* (189). The use of the portcullis as a trap is also mentioned by Aeneas Tacitus 39.3; Polybius 10.33.8; Appian, *The Civil Wars* 4.78; and Livy 27.28.10-11.

²⁹ MacCaffrey remarks that at the gates of Hell "Satan, a fallen creature, is already beginning to live in a world of allegorical symbols instead of myth" (197); and in *Answerable Style* Stein notes that Satan is "drawn gradually into the mechanical existence of his unwilling creations, Sin and Death" (157); see also Ferry, 133-41. Summers notes the scriptural basis for the allegory and the way in which the allegorical creatures represent the nature of Hell in its nightmarish insanity (40-1; cf. 54-5). Samuel Johnson's

famous criticism of Milton for his allegorical creatures contains a truth while it misses the point: the poet in fact intends "to shock the mind by ascribing effects to nonentity" (133), since in a very profound sense those effects are the privation of good and hence *do not exist*, just as Satan becomes less real in his association with them.

30 She is called 'the three-formed goddess' (*diva triformis*) and 'she of the three ways' (*Trivia*), to which Milton alludes when Sin meets Satan atop the Asphaltic Bridge, at the vertex of the "three several ways" leading to the "three places" or levels of the universe (10.323-4).

31 'Lamia' does not occur in Junius-Tremellius.

32 See Patai; Kaiser, *Isaiah* 13-39, 359.

33 For the significance of Etruria in the poem, see Chapter 5, note 62; of Lapland, see, for example, Giles Fletcher, *The Russe Commonwealth*, Chapter 20: "For practise of witchcraft and sorcery, they passe all nations in the world" (260).

34 In his detailed examination of the evidence in Homer and elsewhere, Onians has shown that the gods (of whom the Fates are in this respect a concentrated expression) are "habitually conceived as spinning what is to be" (309), and that fate is a bond "fastened upon men" (327), who then, as we say in modern English, must await what is "bound to happen" (333). In Homer, for example, the effect of fate is a bond or snare manifested in physical paralysis (Il 13.434-40), mental disability or acquiescence (Il 22.5-6), or some circumstantial confinement, as by the weather (Ody 4.468-80). To oppose the evil fate that binds--for fate is not always thought to be strictly determined--are the magical bonds of protection, apotropaic garments and their architectural equivalents, and to invoke fate on another, the magical bonds of charms, bewitchments, and the like, of whom Circe is the "arch representative" in Homer (Onians, 369; cf. 366-77).

35 'Pythia' is the proper term; 'pythoness' has been used to refer to her but is traditionally the name given to the biblical witch, after the Vulgate 1 Chr 10:13 (OED), as in Bacon, *Essays* (1625), "Of Prophecies." For the slaying of Python see *Met* 1.438-44.

36 Eliade, *A History of Religious Ideas*, 1:271.

37 Astrology 23. On this traditional configuration, see Euripides, *Ion* 89-94; Strabo 9.3.5; Diodorus 16.26; and the sources cited by Parke, 18-24. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle*, Chapter 7, surveys but rejects this evidence on archaeological grounds that are irrelevant to my concerns.

38 See, for example, Origen, *Contra Celsum* 3.25 (Migne, 11:947C-952A); 7.3 (11:1425B-1426A); and John Chrysostom (61:595A-597A); cf. Jonathan Swift, *A Tale of a Tub*, Section 8 (99). Latte traces her possession by the prophetic spirit back to "the conception of the *unio mystica* as sexual intercourse between a god and a human being" (16). This is related in turn to "the structure of chthonian hierophanies," revelations of the earth "as the foundation of every expression of existence" (Eliade, *Patterns*, 242; cf. 243-50).

39 Harding notes Milton's indebtedness to Aen 10.270-5, where Aeneas is compared to a portentous comet as he stands before Turnus (*Club of Hercules*, 64-5). The allusion emphasizes Satan's baleful nature, but Death is not defeated as Turnus is.

40 Lieb points out in *Dialectics of Creation* that Satan's penetration of the gates of Hell to spy on the secrets of Chaos is a sexual offense (26). Lawry notes Sin's womb as a place of "incestuous disorder" (141); hence it corresponds in this unkindly mixture of things to the Chaos Satan literally enters. Lieb further comments that "the womb in the Satanic world implies its

negation: a hole into which one enters to suffer unfulfilment and annihilation" (167; cf. 22-5, 27).

⁴¹ See Apollodorus 1.3.6 on Athena's birth, and Hesiod, *Theogony* 886-900. The Athena of the *Iliad* is not unlike Milton's Sin: Stanford points out that this Athena "is essentially a partisan warrior-goddess intent on the destruction of Troy," a type of Paradise in Milton's poem, the reader will recall; she is the brutal deceiver of Hector, and, most relevant to my argument here, she uses Odysseus (type of Satan) as an instrument to overthrow the city she hates (37).

⁴² See Flinker, "Cinyras, Myrrha, and Adonis," which surveys the tradition of interpretation "from Ovid to Milton" but does not look closely enough at either Ovid's story or at Milton's adaptation, hence finds the parallels between Myrrha and Sin "superficial" in light of "the moral gap that separates them" (71); cf. also his "Father-Daughter Incest," which I find more useful.

⁴³ The following are the chief parallels. Sin is born from her father; Myrrha's birth, though apparently normal, is mentioned only in the context of her guilty passion for her father (334-5). At birth Sin is first regarded as "portentious" (2.761); however playfully, Ovid forswears Myrrha's place of birth and warns the incautious reader against the tale of her crime in a way analogous to a regard for the perils of the portentious (300-18), and he tells of her fearful progress into her father's dark chamber in terms of divine, cosmic, and natural omens of evil (446-68). Sin wins the attentions of her father "most averse" (762-3); Myrrha wins her father, whose later reaction shows him most averse, by means and circumstances (darkness, the nurse's deceit, and his drunkenness) that Milton, in effect, internalizes within Satan. Sin and Satan's joy is taken "in secret," and her womb conceives a "growing burden" (765-7); Myrrha and Cinyras' pleasure, also incestuous, takes place secretly in his dark chamber, and "plena patris," "full of her father" (469), she flees his rage with her growing burden ("onus," 481, 513). With the rest Sin is expelled from Heaven by the angry Father whom Satan, a demonic father, sees in terms of himself; Myrrha is similarly chased from her home by her enraged, weapon-wielding father (474-6). Sin is confined to Hell, a place of neither genuine life nor total extinction, which other devils consider a shelter from divine wrath; Myrrha also seeks shelter from deadly wrath and, according to her prayer, is confined within the rigid form of a tree, in a state between life and death (484-94). Death's birth from Sin is violent and metamorphic, accompanied by "Prodigious motion...and rueful throes" (780) and the breaking, tearing, and distorting of her entrails (781-5); the birth of Adonis, the dying god, is likewise attended by agony that ends in the cracking open of the tree and rending of the bark, and he who is born is called "vivum...onus," "the living burden" (512-13). As I show later in the text, Death's coming forth "brandishing his fatal Dart" (786) corresponds to the earlier point in Myrrha's story when Cinyras discovers her identity.

⁴⁴ The innuendo is not primarily through *L. vagina* (sheath), which was not used as its modern English derivative is (cf. J. N. Adams, 20, 115), but through the sexual symbolism of weapons, "instantly recognisable in ancient society" and "common in jokes and other forms of comedy" (19, 22).

⁴⁵ Virgil applies the word to Avernus, "vastoque immanis hiatu," "monstrous and with a vast cavity" (Aen 6.237); Plautus to fallen Troy (*Bacchides*, 1049); Livy to besieged Rome, a *vasta urbs* (5.53.1); Lucretius to the whirlpool Charybdis (*De Rerum Natura*, 1.722).

⁴⁶ For the Vulgate phrase "in hac vasta solitudine" Junius-Tremellius has simply "in deserto." Note the syntactic parallelism that links Egypt with the Wilderness in their common manifest demonic state.

47 Commenting on Satan's invasion of Paradise, Broadbent notes that "When he leaps over the wall he brings the city with him" (*Some Graver Subject*, 169).

48 See Chapter 3, note 15.

49 I group the repetitive tellings thus: (1) 9.53-57; (2) 58-62; (3) 62-9, with a dilation on the place of entry, 69-76; (4) 76-82; (5) 82-6; (6) 87-96; etc. These are not exactly repetitions; their structure is not so much circular as spiral, covering the same events from a changing perspective, or focusing on an event within the previous 'cycle.' Their number, I think, prevents them from being taken *simply* as expansions on a summary statement.

50 In Pausanias' version of the Narcissus story, the youth consoles himself for the loss of his twin sister, whom he loved passionately, by imagining his reflection in the water to be her image (9.31.7-8). Schickel points out that the basic elements of the story suggest a lurking identification of the reflected image with a female water-spirit (31), a possibility that Ovid appears to develop in the morphologically similar story of Salmacis (Met 4.285-388), which also occurs in the Cadmus cycle.

51 See Rebecca W. Smith's article on the several resemblances between Pandaemonium and St. Peter's in Rome, consecrated in 1636 by Urban VIII. She points out that the bees to which Satan's followers are likened recall the arms of that Barberini pope, a bee, and the designation of his followers, who were "often referred to as bees" (197). (The beehive was a familiar figure of speech in the religious literature of the time--Milton and Salmasius both used it, for example, as Smith notes, 195-6). Urban VIII was the pope who imprisoned Galileo, whom, we saw, Milton uses at PL 1.287-91 as a proleptic figure of fallen man under the power of evil. Indeed, Satan's position is named "that bad eminence" (2.6), echoing the title given to Roman cardinals by that same pope in 1630 (for which see Du Cange, 3:257), and, Smith observes, the "close recess and secret conclave" in which the "great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim" meet (1.794-5) alludes to the corresponding Roman *Conclave*, the inner chamber where the cardinals meet to elect their pope (192-4; cf. *OED*, s.v. 'conclave,' 2). Note also Milton's use of the word "Pontifice" with reference to the Asphaltic Bridge; it can mean both a bridge and the pontifex, its builder (*OED* 1,2), and thus for my purposes the bridge-builder identical with the structure he erects. The probable etymology of 'pontifex' (fr. L. *pons*, bridge + *facere*, make) refers to the ancient Roman magic of bridge-building, a specialized threshold rite; the Roman *pontifex* was a member priest of a college that assisted the civic magistrate in his sacral duties (Rose). In historical times, the head of that college, the *Pontifex Maximus*, was the chief officer of Roman state religion and from the time of Julius Caesar also the secular head of state. By calling the Asphaltic Bridge a "Pontifice" Milton thus identifies bridge and builder, but he also implies the identity of Satan, archetypal conjuror, with both pagan and Christian Roman heads of state--perhaps his most powerful and damning criticism of theocratic tyranny. It is very important to understand where the force of this criticism lies: not simply in equating the papal Pontifex with Satan, but more profoundly in asserting the satanic continuum that renders pagan and Christian chiefs fundamentally indistinguishable from each other as well as from Satan. Thus, one might argue, the "hideous Peal" rung by Sin's Hell-hounds summons Satan into the body of an archetypal whore who corresponds in the Bible to the Great Whore whom the seer on Patmos identified with Babylon--not just the historical city but "Mystery, Babylon the Great, the mother of harlots and abominations of the Earth" (Rev 17:5). The Protestants saw the Roman church in her image.

52 Note, however, that 'noise' can also refer positively to the sound of

music as well as negatively to cacophonous strife of various kinds (*OED*, 1,5), its primary meaning here.

⁵³ For Eve as a type of Pandora, see Blessington, 53; Collett, "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology," 94; and cf. Diane McColley, "Shapes of Things Divine," 50-1.

⁵⁴ For Pandora's jar of plagues, see Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 94-9, where Pandora herself opens the lid of the 'jar' (Gk. *pyxís*; cf. L. *pyxís*, small box). In Charles Stephanus (cited by Starnes and Talbert, 270) Epimetheus opens the box. In other places, the box is not mentioned, as Pandora is herself the origin of evils: see Hesiod, *Theogony*, 570-89, where Pandora is clearly a likeness, and Hyginus, Fab. 142, where she is the mother of Pyrrha, the first mortal woman; cf. Pausanias 1.24.7. For the Latin metaphor of the entrance to the womb as a door or gate, see J. N. Adams, 17, n. 1; 89.

Chapter 7: A Promised Eve

At the gates of Hell two opposite things happen simultaneously. In the primary sense of the narrative Satan gets past Sin, or metaphorically out of her, to the freedom that lies beyond; in the secondary sense, Satan enters her, progressing from one kind of imprisonment to another and thus suffering further damnation. Analogies to his vision of chaos as he stands "on the *brink* of Hell" (2.918)--both 'the edge of a steep place' and 'the edge of land bordering water' (*OED*)--support these opposing senses. Because he stands "on the brink" of a watery "wild Abyss" (910; cf. 892) contemplating his great crossing from a "prison strong" (434) to "a place of bliss" (832), he is a demonic analogy of Moses; and because he also stands on something like a high promontory, surveying a Promised Land of dimensionless territory and progeny "unnumber'd as the Sands / Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil" (903-4), he is a demonic parody of several biblical patriarchs, including Moses, on the verge of fulfillment.¹ We saw, however, that in flight from the brink of chaos Satan also drops "plumb down" (933) and so is the archetypal Pharaoh, who sinks "as lead [*Vulg plumbum*] in the mighty waters" (Ex 15:10); or, viewing "The secrets of the hoarie deep" (891), he is a demonic Aeneas seeking his future in the lower world into which he gazes, "horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae," "the remote and secret places of the dread Sibyl" (Aen 6.10), who like the Pythian Sin is the numinous personification of a chthonic shrine and its guardian portress.

The two senses of the narrative illustrated in Satan's confrontation at the gates of Hell provide an important clue to what one discovers in the later parts of his exodus. In the following chapter I will apply this clue to the much more complex situation that arises when Satan enters Paradise, and we will see that in the unfallen world the two perspectives on demonic action thus afforded by the narrative become part of a more comprehensive vision of the relationship between what is conventionally called 'good' and 'evil'--or what I prefer to call 'apocalyptic reality' and 'demonic illusion.' Note that by 'demonic illusion' I mean approximately what is meant by 'parody demonic': something that however apparently solid and actual is a parody of the real and thus illusory from the apocalyptic perspective, which is both eternally present and historically inevitable.

I.

In the last chapter I began with the question of theodicy in Milton's justification of God's ways to man, and argued that his poetic answer implies a distinction between Satan's overt success on one level of the narrative and his covert defeat on another. For the world of Hell I argued that his success, like the glory of Pandaemonium and his impressive strength, is a demonic illusion concealing the apocalyptic reality with which the poem begins and which various metaphors, allusions, and analogies give us glimpses. The poem holds these two narrative levels (which one may think of as belonging to a text and a subtext, or a foreground and a background)² in creative tension, allowing the submerged reality to emerge, sometimes gradually, sometimes suddenly, from a shadowy, and in fact a typological, concealment. The

emergence is fully intelligible, however, only if it can be seen as an emergence, not as a completely new event for which the poet has not prepared us. When, for example, Satan's inner anguish bursts forth atop Niphates (4.13ff), the discontinuous novelty of the event is essential, but not, as Waldock would have it, "everything" (85). The sudden emergence can only mark a significant stage in Satan's development if the preceeding subtext foreshadows it, as it does partly through covert association of volcanic and corporeal metaphors with Satan. The same is true of the metamorphosis and temptation of the devils before the tree of ashen fruit (10.504-77). That it occurs when it does occur, and with the suddenness characteristic of divine judgment, is essential to the story; at the same time its significance arises, as I am about to argue, from the fact that in the manner of an antitype fulfilling a type it repeats in the foreground what happens in the background during Satan's apparently victorious seduction of Eve.

When Satan enters Paradise, however, the simple opposition between a textual action that is overt and illusory and a subtextual action that is covert and real breaks down. There Satan is for the first time since his fall confronted with a world, opposite to his own, in which the apparent *is* the real. This means that on the narrative level formerly occupied only by the demonic illusion of Satan's progress is now juxtaposed the apocalyptic reality of unfallen life, and (as I will show) on the subtextual level the reality of Satan's condition is similarly juxtaposed to the illusory demonic counterparts that he somehow perversely generates from his new surroundings: from the paradisal garden, a corrupt one; from Eve, a perilous and very powerful love-goddess, and so forth. By "somehow" I mean to indicate the enormous complexity

of what he perceives in Paradise, without for the moment having to be specific. The question of fallen vision is central to my purpose as it is to the exodus, but at the level to which this question is raised in a true Pisgah-sight, "face to face" (1 Cor 13:12), it demands all the care and resources one can muster. As a whole the following chapter is such a mustering towards an answer.

In Paradise Satan is no longer among his own kind; hence we cannot speak of what he sees as narcissistic in quite the same sense as earlier. Indeed, in the last chapter we saw that Satan's narcissism is really a pathological process rather than a static condition, and that the Ovidian type which describes his relation to the other fallen angels gives way to or becomes a more complex metaphor of further damnation when he faces the false otherness of his allegorical daughter. If, for the moment, we oversimplify matters by considering only the Eve to whom Satan appeals in the temptation, and her only as he appears to consider her, then we can see that she represents the second such false opposite or sexual complement; but because Eve, unlike Sin, is an unfallen being genuinely distinct from her demonic perceiver, his choosing to reject her genuine otherness and to remake her in his own image is the most damning narcissism of all. The fact that he goes from bad to worse is not, however, my point. Satan's typological development in exodus through demonic history means that his rejection of Eve approaches most nearly of all his threshold errors to the eternal error by which he first fell. It is not just his most damning error, after the first; it is the poet's most intense exploration of error and a typological dilation on the first rejection of his Creator.

Before we look more closely at the question of Satan's fallen perception of Paradise, the place of this threshold in the topography of the exodus needs to be brought into focus. Milton's Paradise in particular and the new world in general are the biblical Garden of Eden, but they are also a type of the Promised Land, likewise a place of energetic peace and plenitude. In his own way Satan regards the unfallen world as his Promised Land, a place of opportunity where he will find the hoped for "Truce to his restless thoughts" (2.526) and where his wandering multitudes can dwell; Eve is then the Rahab or, analogously, the Helen who lets him in. The original world is also, however, a kind of Wilderness. For Satan, as for his abandoned mates in Hell, any Promised Land is ultimately just a Wilderness mirage, that is, something which promises 'rest' of some kind but turns out to be a threshold from which further wandering and severer trial begin. For Adam and Eve also Paradise is not an eschatological place of rest but a "woodie Theatre" of dramatic trial and growth (4.141; cf. 9.6) where they also wander, though in a paradisaal Wilderness that is no mirage.³

Milton's unfallen garden is dynamic and tentative, in this way also a type of the historical Promised Land, which like the biblical Paradise must be 'subdued' to be kept. In *Paradise Lost*, God the Father declares this from the beginning, when just before he decrees the creation of the world (of which Paradise is the essential expression) he makes clear its evolutionary purpose by defining it as a stage in the realization of the promise, but not as its ultimate fulfillment (7.145-61). Thus man's trial "under long obedience" (159), whether in the unfallen or in the fallen world, takes place in a

Wilderness, where we also find Satan undergoing a parallel but quite distinct Wilderness quest. The dual character of that place in the Bible--an upper world of divine communion and miraculous provision of food parallel with a lower world of labyrinthine wastes, thirst, and littered corpses--suggests the reality of Milton's Paradise and what corresponds to it in the manifest demonic experience of Hell. Between those two levels is the parody demonic world that, I wish to argue, Satan inhabits or is contained by while he is in Paradise and which is described by subtextual references to fallen gardens, classical goddesses, and the like. Thus when Satan enters Paradise we have two paradises superimposed, and hence we can speak of two distinct levels of the text by which these paradises are described: the principal narrative, in which the unfallen place of energetic growth is described; and the subtext, in which the satanic parody is maintained--alongside, the reader will recall, the emerging truth of Satan's condition.

Satan's insinuation of himself into the narrative and imagery represents in one sense the mingling or mixing (in reverse of the biblical process of separation) of the infernal with the paradisaal levels of the exodus, though until this mixture is sealed to human nature by the Fall it takes place by suggestion, mostly in the subtext. At the Fall, what has been a concealed parody becomes a dominant theme, or something like a demonic paradigm. Affected, for example, by the labyrinthine Serpent with the covert spiritual monster at its core, Adam and Eve seek the "Vain covertures" of clothing, to hide "The Parts of each for other, that seem most / To shame obnoxious" (10.337; 9.1093-4), and of shelter, in the labyrinthine Figtree, where they attempt to hide "Thir guilt and dreaded shame" (9.1114).⁴ Similarly, the land

of true promise, governed by the injunction to "Be fruitful, and multiply" (Gen 1:28; PL 4.736ff) becomes the parody demonic equivalent foreshadowed throughout the earlier scenes in Paradise after Satan has entered it, a 'Canaan' of shameful sexual exposure.⁵ With the Fall, Paradise also becomes a place they must leave, a kind of plentiful Egypt to which their corrupted tastes then tend to bind them, and a place of evident spiritual peril from which the expulsion redeems them into an intermediate stage of trial, with a paradise to be regained at the distant end (11.263-333). Likewise for Satan the Fall marks an analogous metamorphosis of that "place of bliss" (2.832) into a place from which he must escape (10.337-46). The geography or cosmography of his exodus is suddenly reversed: Paradise becomes Egypt, Chaos is again the Wilderness, and Egyptian Hell his Promised Land, offering him hope of promised acclaim. The emergence of the parody demonic out of the subtext into the main narrative parallels the emergence from the Hell within Satan of something like the Hell within which he was originally imprisoned. In what follows we will have several opportunities to observe the covert metaphors suggesting Satan's engulfment by the demonic world he has projected onto Paradise.

Despite the success of the demonic plan "Earth with Hell / To mingle and involve" (2.383-4), the levels of being remain distinct in some sense, or at least separable. When with the Fall the parody demonic imaginings of Satan become actual, the covert subtextual hints become overt in the main text, but paradisaal reality, rather than being simply usurped, is submerged in the subtext. Thus when for both Satan and his victims Paradise becomes an Egypt, both leave by a "solitarie way," but the multiple resonances of that adjective

(which I discussed at the beginning of Chapter 5) sort differently for them. Satan, like Tantalus, will reach for the promised fruit and find it ashes and at last himself be "dissolved" by eschatological fire (12.546); man, Michael promises, will see and become like the legendary Phoenix and like a tree of endless life:

From the conflagrant mass, purg'd and refin'd,
New Heav'ns, new Earth, Ages of endless date
Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
To bring forth fruits Joy and eternal Bliss. (548-51)

In short the Paradise we see has two aspects to which correspond two levels of the narrative, one dominant and the other submerged, and I have said that at the Fall they change places. The relationship between the two aspects, however, bears closer examination, especially if we are to understand what happens to Satan in Paradise and not misunderstand what happens to his victim, Eve. We might say that (to paraphrase Paul from the Vulgate) Satan sees her as he sees himself, "per speculum in aenigmate," "by means of a mirror in an enigma": neither entirely the real, unfallen being nor entirely the unreal creature thrown up out of his imagination, as it were, into the subtextual imagery.

II.

One form of the central question I want to raise is, then, 'What does Satan see when confronted with paradisaal reality?' Let us consider two examples of

the demonic Pisgah-sight as an introduction to the subject: Satan's vision of the unfallen earth from the crossroads on the cosmic shell (3.526-61), and, very briefly one to which I shall later return, his vision of Eve in her "sweet recess" (9.455ff).

In the first, Satan stands at the crossroads where at that moment the heavenly ziggurat meets the cosmic shell,

Direct against which op'nd from beneath,
Just o're the blissful seat of Paradise,
A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide...(3.526-8)

In context the width of the path leading down indicates the extent of the communion between Heaven and Earth, just as the width of the mouth of Hell measured its destructive power. The inevitable echo of the Matthean 'broad way to destruction' (7:13) suggests, however, the ambiguous meaning such wide and easy access must have for Satan: the broad way by which he enters both to destroy (recall the sinister connotations of 'vastness' given the world in Satan's imagination earlier) and, unexpectedly with the full weight of the verse, to be destroyed. Once again Satan is like a demonic Moses, standing on a high promontory, viewing at some distance a Promised Land he will never truly inhabit, though his 'possession' of it is suggested by the appropriate land-survey metaphor (cf. 534-39). The same pervasive ambiguity is provided, though with greater detail, by his comparison to a military spy:

...As when a Scout
Through dark and desart wayes with peril gone
All night; at last by break of chearful dawne

Obtains the brow of some high-climbing Hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First-seen, or some renown'd Metropolis
With glistening Spires and Pinnacles adorn'd
Which now the Rising Sun guilds with his beams.
Such wonder seizes'd, though after Heaven seen,
The Spirit maligne, but much more envy seizes'd
At sight of all this World beheld so faire. (543-54)

His mixed reaction is an important clue. He is 'seized' by wonder, but wonder quickly becomes envy, and 'seizes' him, suggesting, perhaps, a *psychomachia* he loses to himself, hence a judgment according to the talion principle. The primary biblical allusion in this passage is to the Israelite spies sent to discover "The goodly prospect of some foreign land" (548), but not without admixture of at least two other analogous figures who had "Through dark and desert ways with peril gone" (544). The first is that similar group of Israelites later dispatched to reconnoitre the "renown'd Metropolis" (549, fr. Gk., 'mother-city') of Jericho, urban form of the dangerously maternal land; and the second, Odysseus, spy and thief, whose cunning adventure is the advance form of the treacherous siege-engine that completed the undoing of Troy, just as later the Asphaltic Bridge completes Satan's parallel work. The gilding of the Metropolis suggests its visionary status, and we note that the golden quality of the vision comes from the "Rising Sun," or as it is called a few lines later, "The golden Sun in splendor likest Heaven" (572), whose informing light is thus a metaphor of the sustaining life-energy of Heaven. At this point Satan indeed sees a heavenly vision but is quickly overcome and reacts to it inappropriately, as if it were something quite different, or as if his change of mind from wonder to envy had remade it into something more like a demonic projection of desire. As a result he is turned aside into a

more perfected, more thoroughly committed state of evil, and thus we can call the Pisgah-sight an apotropaic vision, even though he is not turned away from it in the usual sense.

In the second example, Satan in the Serpent views not "all this World beheld so faire" from above, but one whom he is shortly to address as its goddess, from below and in a literally humiliated state.⁶ Satan has degenerated (in a typological sense), his temptation intensified, so one might expect to find the hints of the previous example developed. As will be confirmed later, what he sees now is for him indeed considerably more of a negative vision: Eve in her "sweet recess" is not merely a stunningly beautiful goddess of the garden but a figure fraught with peril for the beholder. To Satan her beauty is as gorgonian as the vision of the earth was apotropaic; beholding her,

That space the Evil one abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remaind
Stupidly good, of emnitie disarm'd,
Of guile, of hate, of envie, of revenge;
But the hot Hell that alwayes in him burnes,
Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight.... (9.463-8)

The symmetrical pair, "Evil one...own evil" ('one' and 'own' were perfect homophones in Milton's day)⁷ imitates in sound the mirroring effect of abstraction from the self specified in the sense. Satan is again struck by beauty and again is paradoxically turned aside by it into a worse state, confirming himself in his evil after contemplation of what he cannot have, "pleasure not for him ordain'd" (470).

In this latter example, however, the message is more complex. In addition to the obvious truth in this display of the power of unfallen beauty over hardened evil (by which evil is diminished in our sight), a covert truth is suggested through a possible allusion and a stronger parallel. The poet's phrase, "*abstracted / From his own evil*" paraphrases Cicero's words in the *Republic*, encouraging the practice of 'philosophic death,' when the soul in such contemplation "*maxime se a corpore abstrahet*," "withdraws itself as much as possible from the body" (6.26). (In Platonic thought such abstraction from sensible beauty to the idea of it was regarded as a preparation for physical death, when the soul would be liberated from the corruptions of the body, a manifest spiritual evil.)⁸ Furthermore, Satan is "stupidly good" (465), good by force of senseless amazement (cf. *L. stupeo*). Although he resembles the philosopher drawn from himself in contemplation of beauty, being stupified he is not liberated; in Platonic terms, he does not ascend "the heavenly ladder" Diotima describes to Socrates (*Symposium* 210e-212). Rather, as in the metaphor of metempsychosis, he ascends in a kind of death to his own evil, but "Though in mid Heav'n" (either 'amidst Heaven' or in that false, cosmic region, the Paradise of Fools, where Neoplatonists go after death) recollects it and is thus, like the sinful Neoplatonist heavy with corporeal longings, pulled back down in a rebirth into evil.

What, then, does Satan see when confronted with paradisaal reality? One might say that the vision itself is unconditional, that only his choice is damning, but the vision is not simply one thing. Eve is innocent and powerfully beautiful--the poet reminds us that she is "yet sinless" some short

time later, meaning it (659)--but, I think, we are invited to consider this vision of loveliness not only in the text, where it is both true and actual, but also in the subtext, in a Neoplatonic framework that helps to define the mentality of the demonic beholder. The implication for Satan is not just ethical, in that he is making a evil choice; it is spiritual or intellectual, a matter of distorted perception. At the threshold of their Promised Land, the godless spies of the Israelite exodus, in a parallel sequence of demonic vision followed by evil choice, similarly play out the deeper accord of vision, choice, and judgment, as we have seen. The vision, whether attractive like that of Narcissus or repulsive like that of the godless Israelites, already constricts choice to false alternatives or compels it, and according to the talion principle judgment is already declared in the content of the vision. Thus when in Hell the devils debate their response to God's punishment, their choice is predetermined by the false and appropriately repulsive 'God' of their distorted imaginations, who being a reflection of themselves returns to plague them, redounding "as a flood on those / From whom it sprung, impossible to mix / With Blessedness" (7.57-8; cf. 1.214-20). In Paradise the vision Satan receives is correspondingly attractive (whether of the garden or of Eve), though finally no less narcissistic; to the degree it is self-reflecting, it defines his choice and becomes the basis for the imagery of his judgment.

One other problem demands brief attention before we can turn to a sustained examination of the particular episode in Book 9 I have chosen for its relevance and relative simplicity. I have so far presumed that somehow we can speak of the mind of Satan and how it views the world, not just from his words

and those of the poet directly concerned with demonic affairs, but also from other words that describe less committed, more ambiguous things, such as fallen gardens, classical goddesses, and the like. In what sense can we say that the demonic potential in these ambiguous entities belongs to Satan, when they are clearly the poet's words applied to unfallen life?

There are, I think, three possible answers or kinds of answers to this question. We can, as Collett argues in "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology," say that these entities are "cleansed" by being applied to Paradise (93), but this leaves us unable to account for the more obviously sinister imagery that clusters around Eve in the final stages of her temptation,⁹ and it leaves us equally unable to cope with the fallen connotations of Milton's poetic language. Alternatively, we can with Giamatti, Harding, and others, interpret these fallen connotations as intentionally or meaningfully contagious. This solution, however, tends toward the notion that the Fall is not a conscious choice at a particular moment but a process of development from potential to actual evil, and thus the state of innocence is compromised. The third possibility, which I have adopted, borrows from the first two, but it avoids their difficulties by assuming that the human mind (of the poet and of the "fit" reader), being fallen but not utterly corrupt, contains both demonic and paradisaical worlds, and that in the poem the poet has separated what in fallen life is ordinarily mixed, inviting the reader to assimilate the demonic in himself and in his language and culture to Satan, and the "traces of the divine image [that] still remain in us"¹⁰ to his Grand Parents in Paradise. In that way we need neither ignore the sinister echoes in defense of innocence nor compromise innocence by recognizing them; we need only know to whom those echoes belong and, as it were, return them to their source.

III.

The episode in *Paradise Lost* I have chosen for close interpretation is the one immediately prior to Eve's first conscious sight of the satanic Serpent (9.412-93). It is introduced by her parting from Adam and by the poet's commentary on that event (385-411), which includes an extended comparison of Eve to a series of classical goddesses, principally Diana, Pomona, and Ceres. If the imagery of comparison is viewed according to the separation I have proposed, then these goddesses affect our perception of Eve in two quite different ways. In what I take to be the foreground sense the poet describes her fundamentally incomparable beauty and demeanor by a series of approximations, the force of which is largely dismissive: she was like this or that goddess, but not really, because she naturally exceeded them all. This is the sense I have assumed to be obvious, and however important it may otherwise be I will henceforth mostly ignore it.¹¹

The background or subtextual sense is legitimized by what clearly becomes of Eve later, when she in effect reaches for the parody demonic apotheosis the Serpent has promised her and becomes the exceedingly dangerous love-goddess who astonishes Adam.¹² As I have indicated, this is not to say that Eve is fallen before she officially falls,¹³ but that through the apparently dismissive comparisons and other hints her imminent metamorphosis into the image Satan projects for her becomes increasingly dominant, until she accepts it. In the following we will see that what she accepts is a twofold persona that each of the goddesses exhibits: each is goddess-like in beauty and manner, though formidable; and each is fortunate, though doomed.

The first of the principal goddesses to whom Eve is compared is Diana, the preeminent virgin goddess of the classical world (9.387-92).¹⁴ While it is true that as Eve approaches her meeting with the Serpent her innocence becomes more and more specifically sexual,¹⁵ the comparison to Diana and the epithet "Virgin Majestie" (270) signify more than sexual purity and its foreshadowed loss in the Fall. The only other reference to a 'virgin' Eve occurs just before her first coital union, in the phrase "Virgin Modestie" (8.501), where the word has its primary sense of chaste maidenhood (*OED* I.1). Applied to Eve in her later conversation with Adam, "virgin" perhaps expresses her impressive spiritual purity (cf. 4.288ff), but in the shadow of Diana, and even more of Satan, it is perhaps also a metaphor of her withdrawal from Adam in its negative aspect.¹⁶ Her composure may be sweet -- so is the music of Hell (1.712) and the Grove of Daphne (4.272-3) as well as her unfallen grace (298) or the "breath" of an unfallen morning (641) -- but it is also the "austeer" demeanour of a "Virgin Majestie" like that of the classical *dea virgo*. Armed with her "Gardning Tools as Art yet rude, / Guiltless of fire had formd, or Angels brought" (9.391-2), unfallen Eve is comparable to virgin Diana "with Bow and Quiver armd" (390), but, I am arguing, the resonance between these two does not stop with the plain sense of the text. As Miller points out, dismissive comparisons, while declaring unlikeness, inevitably imply some degree of identity, and when that identity is with an inferior thing, the comparison 'contaminates' it (59)--but in the particular context I have defined. The reader is thus lead to ask what kind of a demonic figure Diana can be and in what story we find her, as Eve is here, gazed on in her glorious nakedness by one whom she transforms into a lower form of life.

To whatever degree it may be evoked in the scene of Eve's parting from Adam, Ovid's story of Diana and Actaeon (Met 3.138-255) is a significant analogy. In many respects it is a typical Ovidian tale: the youthful hunter, while innocently wandering on "a mountain corrupted by the gore of many beasts" ("mons...infectus variarum caede ferarum," 143), blunders into the sacred grotto of Diana, sees her nakedness, and is swiftly punished by metamorphosis into a stag, which his own dogs rip apart. Ovid remarks that the general reaction to Diana's vengeance included both criticism of her violence and praise for her "severa virginitate," her 'strict,' 'austere,' perhaps even 'harsh' virginity (253-5). This story, like many in the *Metamorphoses*, implies a kind of lurking sexual violence that may be uniquely Ovidian in tone but not in meaning; his Diana, like the archaic Artemis, is characteristically the goddess of a world in which, as Louis Martz has said, "peaceful settings are deceptive haunts of violence," with their "sense of underlying, uncontrollable danger arising from the passionate energies that dominate the earth" (229). Thus "a Wood-Nymph light / Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's Traine" may evoke the sweet melancholy of a lost pastoral world (386-7), but we should not forget that Dryads were thought dangerous to look upon--at the festival of Pales (to whom Eve is compared six lines later) the Ovidian celebrant would pray, "nec Dryadas nec nos videamus labra Dianae," "may we not see the Dryads nor Diana's baths" (*Fasti* 4.761)--and that mention of them can have an ominous ring, as when Tereus is inflamed at the sight of Philomela, whom Ovid compares to Dryads (Met 6.451-7). To Martz prelapsarian allusions to Ovidian myths in *Paradise Lost* "combine to warn of the imminence of change in Paradise" (229); I am arguing that such allusions, like the present analogies, are more than

anticipatory: they are proleptic, anticipating what is already present in the satanic imagination.

Let us consider the ways in which the story of Actaeon's fatal encounter relates to what happens in Paradise. In Spenser's *Mutabilitie Cantos* (6.42-55), for example, Actaeon's transformation is an analogue of the Fall, and in Sandys an allegory of the consequences of desiring "to see, or knowe more then concernes us" (151). In *Paradise Lost* Adam is particularly like Actaeon when he gazes on the fallen Eve and is then transformed into a lower form of life. Actaeon, however, is equally or more a type of Satan, who spies on Eve's nakedness as Adam does not (9.424) and, the analogy may suggest, is in some way radically transformed by the power of that vision. Since Satan (who has passed by, or out of, or into Sin) belongs to the world of the *periculosa dea virgo* as Adam does not, the suggestion of metamorphic dominance by a ruthless female numen applies more immediately to him.

In the poem Diana is called "Delia," a name that alludes to her birthplace, Delos, an island sanctuary of extraordinary sacredness where in one version of the story her mother, pregnant by Jupiter, found shelter from pursuit by the serpent Python.¹⁷ The "Groves" to which Eve betakes herself in likeness to the goddess recall within the poem an image in the catalogue of fallen gardens to which Paradise is compared, "that sweet Grove / Of Daphne by Orontes" (4.272-3). As I remarked earlier, this catalogue helps to define the demonic counterpart of Paradise, but now we need to look more closely at the resonances of the word 'grove' both in classical and in biblical contexts.

Strabo (16.2.6-7) describes Daphne's garden as a thickly shaded grove, intersected by fountain streams, containing in its midst a sacred precinct and a temple of Apollo and Artemis (Diana). One is reminded in this paradisaical setting of the Ovidian Daphne's dedication to the virgin goddess, her pursuit by lustful Apollo, and final transformation into a laurel to escape him (Met 1.452-567). In the *Metamorphoses* Daphne is Apollo's first love and the first of many unfortunates to be plunged by theophanic encounter into an imprisoning lower world. Daphne is thus the victim and revelation of what Ovid calls "saeva Cupidinis ira," "the violent fury of Cupid" (1.453), or what in *Paradise Lost* appears as the 'heat' of lust and warfare in the fallen world.¹⁸ Again, this demonic garden, like so many other apparently idyllic places in the *Metamorphoses*, is a baited trap, full of lurking peril, ominous, like the wood in which Actaeon glimpsed Diana. Satan's earlier associations with Typhon (Typhoeus) and with Deluge imagery are brought together in this classical emblem of assault and transformation by Milton's mention of the Orontes, which Strabo remarks was formerly called Typhon in remembrance of that 'dragon' whose flight from divine justice cut the riverbed and opened up the subterranean water-source (16.2.7).

The word 'grove' can thus suggest a multiple image of the transformed maiden in a setting charged with peril, but it also links this with the biblical metaphor of the demonic rural *temenos*, an image of Canaanite spirituality and a parody of the Promised Land. In the Bible 'grove' is a loaded word: it is the AV translation of Hebrew *asherah*, the name both of a chief deity of Western Asia and of her principal cult object, apparently some

kind of idol, worshipped by the Israelites in Canaan and repeatedly condemned.¹⁹ Although 'grove' is an inadequate translation, it is traditional, following both the Vulgate and LXX, where in addition *asherah* is identified with Astaroth (AV Ashtaroth, Astoreth) and with Astarte, whom the Greeks knew as Aphrodite and the Romans Venus.²⁰ Lucian's *De Dea Syria* gives evidence of the customary and wide-ranging identification of Greek goddesses with the goddess of this region, who is herself a conflation of the major Canaanite equivalents; and John Selden's list in his *De Dís Syris* (1617) extends the range to include many others.²¹ The point for us is that the word 'grove' evokes beneath a sweetness belonging to Belial the formidable spectre of demonic worship in a corrupted land, and specifically the worship of an ultimately infernal goddess. Thus in one reading of the present passage, Eve resolves through Diana into Sin.

Following Delia in the catalogue of inferior goddesses is Pomona, the Roman goddess of fruit (*poma*), hence of gardens and fruit trees. In Ovid's story Pomona is something like a Diana of gardens (Met 14.624-771), a nymph who like Eve in retreat from the attentions of an "ardent" lover (PL 9.397), turns away from one for whom she is "primus et ultimus... ardor," the first and the last passion" (Met 14.682-3). Thus both Pomona and Eve reject Venus, though in somewhat different senses, and both live within walled gardens. In Ovid's story her lover, Vertumnus, seems far more a type of Satan than of Adam, however; for one thing Vertumnus is a master of disguises, and for another the progress of his wooing is successful and inaugurates the cycle of the seasons, to which he is connected by the traditional Roman etymology of his name (fr. *vertere*, to turn), which makes him a fitting figure of mutability.²² Ovid

emphasizes his trickster nature, but what is more significant, his power to stun or weaken by his appearance; after long and, Ovid says, unsuccessful pleading with Pomona in the guise of an old man, he reveals himself and is ready to rape her, "*sed vi non est opus, inque figura / capta dei nympha est et mutua vulnera sensit*," "but force was not necessary; the nymph was seized by the appearance of the god and felt the mutual wounds" (14.770-1). That such love is a 'mutual wound,' however, is a clue to its debilitating nature, relevant perhaps to Adam but also to Satan in the Serpent as the weak and subjected lover of his own dominant female projection, to which Eve is the objective correlative. One notes that like Satan Vertumnus is first to be wounded.

The last comparison of Eve in the catalogue of goddesses is to Ceres, who though she could be terrible (cf. Met 8.780ff) seems here more threatened than threatening: "Yet Virgin of Proserpina from Jove" (9.396). The strong parallel between Eve and Ceres comes from the fact that in their different ways they are both continuously fruitful in their chaste innocence, and afterwards they both become mothers of life under sentence of death, and sorrowful wanderers in search of what they have lost. In that earlier catalogue of fallen gardens Eve is compared by implication to Proserpina (4.268-72)--not only the raped maiden but also the goddess of labyrinthine Hades--and when she goes forth from Adam into ambush "among sweet Flours and Shades" (9.408) the now much closer resemblance is renewed. Again the garden appears a bated trap with the strictures of fate upon it, but Eve's role is not at all unambiguous. She resembles Proserpina as ravished virgin who must descend into the world of death and whose bond with it is sealed by eating of its fruit (the maiden, who

would otherwise have been free to leave, eats of the pomegranate and so becomes queen of Hell),²³ but she is also Ceres the maternal goddess of nature, who after Proserpina's rape, one recalls, withdrew herself in sorrowful anger and caused the wintry death of growing things that in *Paradise Lost* is initiated with the Fall, which is begun (in a sense) by a withdrawal.²⁴ These allusions to different times help to create the sense of doom--of what is about to happen as already having happened--despite our simultaneous awareness that Eve can choose; they combine with the aura of perilous chance in Proserpina's story to suggest Eve's entry into a world governed not by order but by fate and accident.

This is essentially the nature of Egypt as Joseph experienced it, and what is about to happen to Adam and Eve thus corresponds to the radical shift of fortune laconically noted at the beginning of Exodus (1:8). In a very precise sense Paradise is not an Egypt subject to a sudden shift, but from the demonic perspective indicated by the allusions to such worlds, that is exactly how Paradise appears to Satan. More significantly, this kind of world is no longer localized in him: he is now contained within it and is as much, if not more, a creature of it as any. Searching for Adam and Eve, he is thus a creature of fate:

He sought them both, but *wish'd* his *hap* might find
Eve *separate*, he *wish'd*, but not with *hope*
Of what so seldom *chanc'd*, when to his *wish*,
Beyond his *hope*, Eve *separate* he spies... (9.421-4)

I have emphasized two kinds of linked recurrence in this passage: the notion

of "hap" or chance, linked by the assonance of "hap" and "hope" to the verbal repetition of several words;²⁵ the effect of the whole, I think, is to suggest an echoing amazement or confusion and loss of control. Combined with that is the impelling desire of penetration further into the world "not for him ordain'd" (470), a deeper descent and hence more perfect confusion. In the present scene this eros is communicated to the reader through an insistent, compulsive repetition of "in" (preposition, prefix, and phoneme), as if to suggest desire so strong that the entire mind resonates with it.²⁶

Though on one level of the narrative he effects this penetration, yet at the same time the imagery suggests the opposite, and therefore his defeat. Satan's approach continues the metaphor of an evil storm or deluge (433), hidden in the Serpent who weaves his way among the vegetation "Imborderd on each Bank" (438).²⁷ He approaches Adam and Eve purposefully for what is *in* them, "The whole *included* race, his purposd prey" (416), but though in one sense he reaches them, in another they remain protected against his deluge, the seed of all future life sealed up (*Vulg inclusit*, Gen 7:16)²⁸ against the demonic waters like the chosen of God in Noah's ark (cf. 11.728-53, where this imagery is developed). The fallen pair are no less affected than Noah (who, like them, gets drunk and lies shamefully exposed), but leaving Paradise they become the vessel of all future life moving across history towards that culmination in another, the manger of him who arises once and for all, with his people, from the drowned world.

The imagery of containment is governed by the symbolism of conditional entry in what may seem a rather obvious way, but it is one worth stating at this point. The reader will recall that at the gates of Hell Satan gained his

passage into the world beyond only by submitting to the conditions set forth by and in Sin and Death. So also here his entry into the Serpent means a self-imposed metamorphosis, "This essence to *incarnate* and *imbrute*, / That to the hight of Deitie aspir'd" (9.166-7); and his penetration of the last remaining boundaries between him and "Eve separate" likewise a submission not only to the rule of "hap" and change, but also to a metaphorical binding and dissolution. By 'traversing' Eve's labyrinth of vegetation (434), "thick-wov'n Arborets and Flowers" (437), he on the one hand continues the penetration of her world, but on the other metaphorically gets himself more deeply entangled, more thoroughly bound up in a world where he is subordinate to a female will. Furthermore, since entry into a labyrinth is normally a conditional, initiatory event, we may suspect again that Satan is changed in his confrontation with Eve, just as once before he approached a female figure of ambiguous power (his daughter, yet in some ways superior in strength) and had to 'learn his lore.' To see how the interplay of entry, containment, metamorphosis, and exclusion work at this threshold, we must consider in more detail Satan's vision of Eve.

As spy into Eve's "sweet recess" Satan is again like the spies at the threshold of the Promised Land, and like them he finds himself excluded, though first by a vision of "pleasure not for him ordain'd" (470) rather than by a vision of explicit horror to which the seer is condemned. The pleasure and the horror are not absolute opposites in Satan's case, however. The reader will recall that the Israelite spies are able to enter the Promised Land, but that they are finally excluded from it by what Jeremiah calls "the imagination of their evil heart" (Jer 7:24). That imagination, having turned them away

from a place they were not fit to inhabit by causing it to appear in the form of a "land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof" (Num 13:32), then produces an apparently opposite but equally demonic vision of an Egyptian sanctuary that turns out to be another form of the land-that-devours. So, I argue, Satan in the imagination of his evil heart envisages a parody demonic fulfillment that at his moment of triumph over Eve becomes just such a vision of devouring as the evil spies saw: Eve our General Mother, who "ingorg'd without restraint, / And knew not eating Death" (791-2) and whose feast is a "Thyestean Banquet" (10.688), is then comparable to the land-that-devours, her victims being "The whole included Race" of her progeny (9.416).²⁹ Satan turns away from that vision, on one level in a gesture of guilt at success, on another in a gesture of failure,³⁰ and fearing judgment turns toward the promise of a restored glory in an Egyptian Hell. As we have seen, he finds instead a Wilderness judgment in the form of a manifest demonic recurrence of Eve's engorging.

In prior scenes the parody demonic versions of Paradise were largely depicted in distinct contrast to their unfallen original. Our first direct sight of the garden, for example, is concluded by an intrusive series of such contrasts that begin suddenly in mid-line, as if to emphasize their separateness from the real thing ("Not that faire field / Of Enna....nor that sweet Grove / Of Daphne....nor that Nyseian Isle....Nor where Abassin Kings thir issue Guard," 4.268-84), and our first direct sight of Adam and Eve suddenly interrupted by an outburst against guilty shame and hypocrisy (312-18), so much *unlike* the powerful innocence of their naked glory.³¹ By such a clear and emphatic separation of fallen from unfallen reality the idea of a

genuine choice, even for Satan, becomes possible to entertain. By Book 9, however, this separation has begun to dissolve. Eve's gardening still makes a "Spot more delicious then those Gardens feign'd" (9.439), but the contrast is no longer so absolute. The distinctions between Eve and the several classical goddesses are even less so. The blurring of distinctions need not imply that Eve is any the less innocent, since classical analogies can be positive and negative simultaneously: Eve *is* like a goddess, only more so, and we *do* feel an anticipated melancholy at her frailty like that of Pomona against the trickster Vertumnus, or that of Ceres against the mighty Jove. The blurring is significant, however, to the fallen mind, and in particular to the mind of Satan, for it represents an increasingly successful projection of itself onto the unfallen scene. In entering Paradise Satan's narcissism was challenged by confrontation with genuine otherness, but now, I am arguing, that otherness has all but disappeared for him. Thus, as Eve becomes in Satan's sight a powerful nature-goddess, with the garden her grove, his exclusion means that in the very act of sealing her doom he is bringing about his own vertical separation, not from Paradise but from the fallen world into the far lower state proper to him. His exclusion, a judgment, is self-determined and forces his return to where he belongs.

IV.

If in withdrawal from Adam Eve most resembled a virgin goddess of denial, in her isolation she is more ambiguous, though no less powerful. Her "sweet recess" may refer to Diana's grotto "in extremo recessu" where Actaeon spied her and was transformed (Met 3.157), but in any case it is anatomically

sexual, and the point seems to be that this recess, which is now virtually identical with Eve, is like her an apotropaic device that hardens Satan's resolve to evil. Much of this is familiar, but the scene is still a complex one that deserves and repays close attention, especially in two primary aspects of the subtext: Eve as a figure of superior power, and her inferior consort's reaction to that power.

I have compared Satan's approach to Eve with his earlier approach to Sin, but the tendency of the exodus towards perfection implies that the later event repeats the earlier not merely but typologically, on a deeper or more intense level. In the first of these confrontations a still impressive figure with some vestige of angelic strength faces a dubious allegorical hypostasis; in the second a degraded, humiliated spirit rises from the feet of a goddess-like Eve. Though in one sense she is certainly the weak victim against whom the might of Hell is directed, yet the paradoxical conception of weakness and strength in the Bible reveals another possibility. The birth of Samuel, celebrated in the maternal psalm that later became the Magnificat (1 Sam 2:1-10), is a typical situation in which the Lord not only causes the weak to triumph over the strong, but as the lyrical mode of Hannah's psalm shows, he reveals the tangible strength of demonic empires to be weakness itself, only appearing mighty to those affected by it. Thus in the Nativity Ode the infant Christ, like Hercules, "Can in his swaddling bands control the damned crew" (228). In *Paradise Lost* the full realization of human strength against the might of Hell must await him, but we should be able to see the foreshadowing in Eve, whose strength, though she chooses not to exert it, would clearly have been enough to repel Satan: man is, as God declares, "Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall" (3.99).

On the level of the text, innocent Eve is thus genuinely strong in her weakness, which is powerful enough to astonish Satan and drive him into further guile and damnation. On the level of the subtext, however, weakness leads to the opposite kind of strength, that of the sinister female will which replaces Eve in Satan's mind and dominates him. Eve is, for example, the "fairest unsupported Flour" (9.432), suggesting the familiar weakness of beauty in the fallen world and, through allusion to the maiden Proserpina just prior to her rape by the king of Hell,³² Eve's impending doom. Proserpina's weakness, however, leads directly to her acquisition of great power as the Queen of Hell. At the same time, in Ovid's version of the story Dis, the underworld king, is not all-powerful, for Venus stands above the action and is mistress of both Dis and the girlish victim whom she converts by this means from a virgin rival to something like an infernal counterpart (Met 5.362ff), as she is in the Adonis myth.³³ In the present episode, Eve is in fact partly modeled on the virginal Venus, like her a veiled goddess who defends herself against turbulent desire then loses her virginity while intoxicated by a narcotic concoction.³⁴ Once again loss of virginity, requiring weakness, is the initiatory means to a certain kind of power. In the subtext, then, weakness is a proleptic form of demonic power, something one may assume in order to gain its opposite, therefore potentially a deception, a trick. In a way Satan is tricked by Eve's weakness into his greatest act of self-damnation, just as he is tricked by Sin's apparent weakness of purpose into thinking himself escaped from his doom. Perhaps the subtextual sense of Eve's desiring to leave Adam according to the pattern of her dream³⁵ contains the suggestion of Satan tricked by one who gains power over him by acceding to his

desires;³⁶ if so, then Satan's loss of importance to Eve immediately after her Fall expresses her ultimate triumph over him. One must remember, of course, that this triumph is actually Satan's conquest of himself.

The long-established identity of bride with garden,³⁷ that is, of Eve with Paradise, not only supplies the sexual innuendo to the Serpent's motions, but it also directs us to read the present catalogue of inferior gardens--"those Gardens feign'd," the one "not Mystic," and the bit of rural England (9.439-53)--as primarily figures of the female containment by which Satan is metaphorically ensnared. We have already noted how the governance of "hap" embraces both the Infernal Serpent and his victim (like the power of Venus that ensnares both Dis and Proserpina), and so it seems no accident that in the fourth of the rural gardens to which Paradise is compared here, the wonderfully ambiguous line, "If chance with Nymphlike step fair Virgin pass" (452), suggests the goddess Fortuna as one of the facets of female dominance and containment that Eve is presenting to the Serpent.³⁸ As I just said in somewhat different terms, it is equally true that Eve is the dragon's next meal, but the poet's more profound revelation is that the "Meer Serpent"³⁹ is simultaneously being 'swallowed' by his own projected image, a Hell with a female portress much like the one he supposedly escaped, but metaphorically entered.

In each of the metaphorical gardens to which I will now give individual attention, the natural world is manifested in the bond between a compelling female figure and a relatively weak male follower. The first garden, actually the gardens "of reviv'd Adonis" (440), returns us to Venus, now fully the

goddess of (fallen) sexual love, who is bound up with her dying and reviving consort. What is perhaps most immediately interesting is the adjective "reviv'd," leading us to think of Adonis' rebirth as the parody of Christ's resurrection, and hence of Satan's bestial incarnation as the opposite of Christ's human one. While that is true enough, its relevance to the present context and its full resonance cannot be grasped without a more intimate knowledge of the Adonis story.

A garden of reviving Adonis appears elsewhere in Milton, in the Attendant Spirit's song of spiritual regeneration and reunion in *COMUS* (998-1003), and in Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (3.6.29-54), but unlike those versions the one here has a demonic component. In our poem that component begins with the demon Thammuz of Book 1, whose love-tale of death the poet summarizes in the catalogue of devils and who is commonly identified with Adonis.⁴⁰ Jerome speaks of the pagan fable in which "amasius Veneris et pulcherrimus juvenis occisus, et deinceps revixisse," "the lover of Venus and most beautiful of youths is killed and subsequently revived" (3.8, in Migne, 25:82C), and both he and Origen connect the ordeal with the death and rebirth of seeds in the cycle of nature (de Vaux, 225). As an image of the fallen world into which Eve is about to enter, this cycle is a trap, a perpetual round of birth for death; and the reader will recall from my discussion of the catalogue of devils that the dynamic form or eros of this cycle is essentially a love of death, or a love that is death. Isaiah and Ezekiel both place the Adonis-Tammuz rites in precisely this context, as celebrations of sterility. In the day of the Lord, Isaiah prophesies, the maker of idols shall not respect what he has made, "either the groves [Heb *asherah*], or the images" (17:8), and turning to the people the prophet declares,

Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation... therefore shalt thou plant pleasant plants, and shalt set it with strange slips: In the day shalt thou make thy plant to grow, and in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish: but the harvest shall be a heap in the day of grief and of desperate sorrow. (10-11; cf. Kaiser, *Isaiah* 13-39, 82-3)

Ezekiel, observing in a vision the "women weeping for Tammuz" at the Temple gates (8:14), records that lament as one of the idolatrous "abominations" (13); this word (Heb. *toebah*) belongs to a more general context that includes not only the sense of abhorrence for idolatry but also and more precisely the ritual uncleanness surrounding such practices and their adherents like an infectious disease or a field of enervation. The land so polluted becomes a preformal Wilderness, "a desolation, and an astonishment, and a curse, without an inhabitant" (Jer 44:22; cf. 44:2-6; 7:10), and the idols themselves "the carcasses of their detestable and abominable things" (Jer 16:18), representing gods to whom Isaiah can say, "Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he that chooses you" (41:24). To be regarded an abomination means, in fact, to be identified "with them that go down into the pit" (Ps 88:4), without strength (as if diseased and near death), and utterly cut off from life-giving contact with God and his cultic community.⁴¹ Satan's relationship to God is exactly that, and he is about to become to man, as he has been to his fellows, the archetypal death-dealing idol that I have just described.

Satan's own death is echoed in the name "Adonis," for it also directs us to the story of Venus and Adonis from which the ritual 'gardens,' cast into the

river by weeping women, derive their context. In the *Metamorphoses*, their story is the last of Orpheus' songs of unnatural love, the love of those youths and maidens who with few exceptions earn punishment for the lust of gods by which they are victimized (10.152-4). Adonis' story really begins with the incestuous lust of Myrrha, incited by one of the Furies, for her father Cinyras. The reader will recall that Milton uses the tale of Myrrha's incest to define the relationship of Sin to Satan, and that at the gates of Hell Satan is both a kind of Cinyras and, I suggested, potentially an Adonis in his subjection to her.⁴² With Eve as Venus and Satan, her demon lover, now trapped in a lower form of life, that potentiality is actualized. The satanic projection of Sin upon Eve gives the image of Myrrha the swelling tree-mother, labouring to give birth to the dying nature god, immediate relevance to Eve, increasingly seen as the mother goddess of nature, especially when she contemplates easing her tree's "fertil burden" (9.801).⁴³ The release of that burden in turn recalls the violent birth of Death from Sin, pregnant by Satan, who is here Eve's demon lover.

In Ovid's story of Venus and Adonis (Met 10.519-739), the goddess, like Eve, neglects heaven in favour of her lover from lower regions (532). Their passion is not represented directly; Ovid translates it first into their common pursuit of game, Venus assuming the manner of Diana (*ritus Dianae*, 536), then into the inset story of Atalanta and Hippomenes (560-704), which, as is common in Ovid, plays on and illuminates the surrounding narrative.⁴⁴ In the inset tale, Hippomenes (like Satan in pursuit of Eve) uses golden fruit to distract the female object of his desire, who is already secretly willing to lose the contest (661-2), from escaping the doom hanging over her sexual

consummation. Through the parallel between Adonis' pursuit of game and Hippomenes' of Atalanta, Ovid portrays the virtual identity of sex with death (as in the Fall), and he places both in the framework of an inexorable fate that the Fall will precipitate. Thus the "sweet recess" towards which both Eve and Satan converge resembles not only the virgin goddess's grotto where Actaeon accidentally spied her and was transformed, but also the mother goddess Cybele's shrine, "prope templa recessus" (10.691), towards which the doomed lovers were pulled by the spell of Venus, and which they defiled with their lust so that they were transformed. Ovid's story, then, contributes these elements: the powerful goddess with her subordinate and victimized lover; the marriage of sex and death; and the sense of an overarching fate.

Apollodorus records the motif of Adonis' seasonal alternation between the realms of Aphrodite and Persephone prior to his death by the boar (3.14.4), but perhaps the major literary source for Adonis as the god of dying and reviving nature is Theocritus' fifteenth Idyll on the Adonia festival (cf. Gow). There in the singer's dirge (100-44) he is the revived god of nature, returned from the lower world to Aphrodite with the emergence of life from wintry death. As Ovid suggests somewhat differently, the lovers' marriage bed is a bier, from which she departs and on which he descends to the river where his death is lamented and return anticipated (Idyll 15.128ff). Like Satan, Adonis is he who visits both earth and Acheron in endless alternation (136-7), and that compelled cycle provides us with the central image of the fallen order and of Satan's own doom: restless mutability combined with apparently monotonous repetition. I say "apparently" because the exodus transforms this cyclical repetition into a more linear movement of trial and perfection. As I

have remarked before, within the framework of biblical history the closed cycle is more aptly thought of as a spiral or labyrinth, in which each 'return' brings with it the typological sense of clearer or intensified vision.

The gardens of Adonis were artificial in the modern sense, made for the rapid growth and rapid withering that would reflect the concentrated expression of the natural cycle in the Adonia (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 276b), but in *Paradise Lost* the brief period of growth and decay of the ritual gardens takes on Isaiah's apocalyptic view, quoted earlier. His day of the Lord means the defeat of Satan in an apocalyptic harvest, but much nearer at hand is the day of death and judgment brought about by the Fall. The latter, now at hand, suggests the identification of Eve not with the dominant Venus--who before the Fall is a satanic projection--but with the devoted celebrants who plant the artificial gardens, like the one here woven by "the hand of Eve" (9.438). Isaiah personifies the apostate people as a female worshipper of Adonis, and although it would be wrong to take this figure as an image of Eve's conscious intent or motivation, she does become such a worshipper a few minutes later. By anticipating what is shortly to be, and representing what for Satan perpetually is, the biblical figure casts over the present scene the sense of what must be, and offers us the image of our General Mother's betrayal of "The whole included Race" (416) whose apostasy she initiates as well as personifies. The contrast of lamenting worshipper with dominant goddess is not as absolute as I may have seemed to suggest, for the weeping women of the Adonia represent the sorrowing goddess. Even so, the contrast is useful to bring out Eve's two aspects, the parody demonic victor and the apocalyptic victim.

The digression through the Adonis material has, I hope, made several helpful points, which I would now like to put in perspective before going on to the gardens of Alcinous and of Solomon, which amplify some of them. Eve is first glimpsed through a fallen context when she appears as the analogue of Proserpina (4.268-71), the maiden threatened by the powerful male god from below, but by the time of the present episode this parody of God's patriarchal order has already begun to unravel, revealing another, matriarchal setup beneath. In Satan's confrontation at the gates of Hell I pointed out that his perfection in evil took the form of an explicitly sexual subordination to his own female projection, in which she becomes less the daughter and more the Oedipal mother to whom he resorts after denying his Father. The confusion of daughter and mother is reflected in the parallel with the story of Cinyras and Myrrha, from whom is born the dying child-god that Satan later becomes. The full significance of his metamorphosis from father to son is perhaps not clear until he begins his assault on earth and then on Eve as its Mother Goddess, to whom he is first a male aggressor and then a subordinate. We saw that his assault on Eve is anticipated by his circumnavigation of the Earth, and his penetration of the paradisaal water-source and emergence from its central fountain suggest a womb entry and rebirth by which he metaphorically becomes the maternal earth's son. As on the subtextual level Eve's fatal flaw, or more exactly, her *hamartia*,⁴⁵ is manifested in her potential for domination in this tragic scene, Adam's is likewise manifested in his potential for subordination, on which level Satan is able to replace him. Adam cannot be identified with Adonis; only Satan can, since only he is truly doomed to be forever caught within the cyclical prison that the fallen natural order

represents. Of course insofar as the human worshipper is able to identify himself with the demonic--which Adam and Eve manage for a short time after the Fall--he enters the ceaseless round, the state represented by Milton at the very end of Book 9 and through which he suggests the reason for the anxiety over the Tree of eternal Life in Genesis (3:22):

Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning
And of thir vain contest appeer'd no end. (1187-9)

Satan's own doom is put in these terms later at the tree of ashen fruit.

"Reviv'd" Adonis thus reflects the satanic figure of thralldom for whom revival can only mean inevitable death and is therefore a kind of death sentence, but without the promise of release death offers. The love for which he is noted, the love of Venus and Adonis, is the yearning for the perpetually dying, in biblical terms an 'abomination' or state of enervate and desolate being cut off from the energizing presence of God. The biblical context for such metaphors is the Wilderness of the godless, the labyrinthine desert where all movement is pointless, endless, and therefore indistinguishable from paralysis; and to rephrase a point I just made, since the Wilderness presupposes no 'habitation' or place of rest, the movement as well as the pointlessness of it are compelled.

The image of female dominance and containment implicit in Adonis' story is developed through Milton's reference to the garden of Alcinous. Earlier, in quite a different context, it was a metaphor of the "Earth all-bearing Mother"

(5.338) when Eve gathered fruit to offer to the angelic wanderer from afar (321-49; 388-95; 443-5),⁴⁶ but after Satan's 'birth' from the fountain in the middle of the garden (9.74-5), the Earth Mother has metaphorically become the *Terra omniparens* who gives birth to monsters,⁴⁷ and the wanderer "the wise and crafty minded" trickster (Ody 7.168). Odysseus' long wanderings match Satan's in considerable detail,⁴⁷ but what is especially significant given that correspondence is the almost constant presence of female figures who guide and control Odysseus: Calypso, Athene, Nausicaa, and Arete; especially Athene, his divine champion, whose birth is echoed in Sin's.⁴⁸ Aside from Odysseus, the male figures are all secondary, at least until he wins passage again across a sea to home in a cave -- as Satan manages to get across chaos to home in a hollow mountain.

The scriptural garden of the Canticles, "that, not Mystic, where the Sapient King / Held dalliance with his faire *Egyptian* Spouse" (9.442-3), integrates the theme of female dominance directly into the framework of the exodus. Adam might seem the likelier candidate for the role of "Sapient King,"⁴⁹ but his importance throughout the seduction comes primarily from his absence. In Adam's abdication of his authority we can see two possibilities: first, that as one who has abdicated rule to a female representative of the gods, he is a type of Solomon; and second, that by his uxorious failure Adam has allowed himself to be replaced by his demonic parody, just as Solomon's sins effect his change from worshipper of God to a worshipper of devils. To put it simply, "the Sapient King" of this passage is both Satan and Adam simultaneously, and they both have in common a "fair *Egyptian* Spouse." One thing Milton is pointing out is that in the biblical account there are really

two Solomons, and hence two gardens. The one is the ideal king most clearly visible in the Chronicler's version (2 Chron 1-9), in which not a hint of wrongdoing can be found; the other is the uxorious monarch who, by brilliant editorial management, suddenly emerges in 1 Kings 11:1 loving "many strange women, together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites." Previously Milton referred to the garden of the first Solomon, the one celebrated in the Canticles; now he intends the parody of that garden in which the second Solomon celebrates his marriage-bond with Pharaoh (1 Kings 3:1).⁵⁰ In the earlier catalogue of devils, Solomon or his *mons offensiois* appear three times to document the imprint of evil on the world, reminding us again that the celebrated love enacted in the garden paradise of the Promised Land means entrapment and death. In the Bible Solomon's glorious reign is the culmination of the exodus from Egypt, so that his fall to Egyptian longings is one of those moments when the Promised Land recedes and is replaced by another Egypt, one characterized by royal luxury and the "grievous service" required of the people to maintain it (1 Kings 12:4). As the Joseph story indicates, Egypt is not necessarily an evil place, but it is the kind of world that will inevitably become so⁵¹--precisely the feeling one gets about Paradise at this crux. One should, however, take care to identify the context of this feeling: the sense of inexorable fate comes, I have argued, from the parody demonic world evoked in the subtext and belonging to the mind of Satan.

V.

In my introduction to the present episode in Satan's seduction of Eve, I considered the effect her beauty has on him, and specifically how Satan's brief metempsychosis casts doubts on his ability to perceive unblemished goodness. These doubts we can now bring to a focus. His vision of Eve is clearly part of a demonic threshold event, for it is followed by an explicit choice of further evil and then by a judgment.

Shee fair, divinely fair, fit Love for Gods,
Not terrible, though terrour be in Love
And beautie, not approacht by stronger hate,
Hate stronger, under shew of Love well feign'd,
The way which to her ruin now I tend. (9.489-93)

Again hypocrisy, guile, concealment: as always -- and, notably, as at the gates of Hell -- the way to get by the apotropaic guardian is by the trickery of the shape-changer, "under shew of Love well feign'd." The need for concealment then leads to a self-judgment in a moment of helpless self-knowledge, when, admitting that he could not face Adam, "Whose higher intellectual more I shun," Satan sees his own debased and enfeebled condition, "to what I was in Heav'n" (483, 488). The present vision of Eve, "fit Love for Gods," thus provokes a memory of a vanished past, and though we can understand this threshold moment as a vertical event, Satan experiences it in the modality of fallen time. The momentary quality of his vision takes shape in the transmigratory imagery of a soaring abstraction and, "Though in mid Heav'n" (468), a compelled return, which however apparently vertical is in reality a fallen parody. Eve's solitude is an offering of an opportune moment,

"Occasion which now smiles" (480), not a heaven-sent *kairos* but its parody, a chance in the flux of events that Satan is compelled to take by force of his fallen history (473-9).

The anthropomorphism of "Occasion" is not simply fortuitous. Occasion (L. *Occasio*) seems to have been, like Fortuna, a *dubia dea* (*Fasti* 6.784), though somewhat less solidly established.⁵² Because Occasion is, unlike Sin, not developed any further than a smile in the present passage, she (or it) is only faintly allegorical at best, but it is quite fitting that Satan's mind should be hovering in an ambiguous state appropriate to the biblical Wilderness or the poet's chaos, where hypostases are dubious (cf. 2.964-7). "If chance with Nymphlike step fair Virgin pass" (452), we saw, hints at precisely at this ambiguous mentality, in which the abstract "chance" Satan now wholly depends on and the concrete "Virgin" he hopes "chance" will provide him become meaningfully confused. In such a context, then, Eve the goddess-like object of occasion tends to become *Eva Fortuna*, the goddess Occasion: a female embodiment of demonic temporality, and a variety of the metaphorically female order by which he seduced himself in Heaven, and which then subjected him at the gates of Hell and now again on Earth in the face of supreme contradiction. As Edward Tayler has pointed out, Satan's temptation of Jesus in *Paradise Regained* to act according to a "Zeal and Duty" that "on Occasion's forelock watchful wait" (3.172-3) is to accept this demonic temporality (123), here also in the form of a dubious hypostasis that is a figure of thought as well as of speech.

Satan predictably stereotypes Eve, but in doing so he reveals himself in far worse condition than at any previous point in his exodus. By escaping from Hell, entering Paradise, and seducing Eve, he has gained what he set out to gain, but the subtextual metaphors we have examined show that while in the very act of gaining it he is losing it, or gaining it in a sense far different from what he expected. The paradox of fulfillment comes out in a particularly compact form in the words with which Satan hands over the fallen world to Sin and Death. He invests them with power and then says to them,

If your joynt power prevailes, th' affaires of Hell
No detriment need feare, goe and be strong. (10.408-9)

The "goe and be strong" appropriately echoes the words by which Moses commissions Joshua to lead his people into the Promised Land. The word "detriment," as others have noted (cf. Fowler, 529), alludes to the formula of investiture by which Roman consuls were given supreme power, but also (through a verbal echo of the Vulgate) to a commentary on all such commissions and investitures that reveals them as they truly are. Speaking to his disciples about the self-denial required to follow him, Christ asks, "Quid enim prodest homini, si mundum universum lucretur, animae vero suae *detrimentum* patiatur?", "For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and shall lose his own soul?" (Matt 16:26 Vulg and AV).⁵³

As far as he knows, Satan has indeed gained the whole world; that he has suffered a loss of soul is perhaps not completely revealed until his forced metamorphosis in Hell, when for an eternal moment of judgment he loses all

vestages of angelic form in a surprising fulfillment of his desires. The reader who has paid sufficient attention to the subtextual metaphors will, however, not be surprised. By deliberately rejecting the beautiful truth of Eve and then subjecting himself to a narcissistic perversion of that truth, he has repeated the compulsive choice of each demonic threshold, to turn away from the vision "face to face" towards the enigmatic Narcissus mirror of the self, but this time with a truly damning finality. The strength of that final separation of evil from good depends in the end on the eloquent cogency with which Milton has sung of the powerful innocence of life in Paradise, an innocence so strikingly obvious, in fact, that Satan himself saw it at first glance (4.358-65). In a way perhaps surprising to Satan that innocence gives his exodus meaning, for in Adam and Eve Satan can see most nearly and for the first time since his fall what he himself once was. Rejecting that, he repeats his rejection of the original vision, "face to face," of his own true selfhood, "animae vero suae." In the end, then, an investigation into the covert sources for an understanding of the mind of Satan must cherish rather than undermine the foreground play of innocence; and contrariwise, a true understanding of innocence in *Paradise Lost* must be able to see the ominous momentum of evil and to know its proper context.

In conclusion I want to raise once more the impossible question of why, given the power and cogency of the good, the satanic mind ever came into being at all. Milton, wisely, makes no direct attempt at an answer: we are not told what happens at the moment of Satan's apostasy but left to wonder. Yet this question is really another form of the one raised by theodicy ('Why does evil exist?'), which I mentioned in the last chapter to introduce the subject of

Satan's escape from Hell. There, however, and throughout my discussion of the exodus in all its many threshold events, I have dealt with a principle of evil striving against the good and thereby perfecting it. Perhaps a genuine answer for *Paradise Lost* is to be found only by moving outside the present argument to the "great Argument" of the poem itself, from which height the exodus of Satan can be seen in the context of the exodus of all creatures. The comprehensiveness of vision I mention is far beyond my scope, but we can glimpse it, perhaps, in the understanding Adam achieves at the end of all his revelations, when he bursts forth in his celebratory hymn:

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Then that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness!....(12.469-73)

Adam ends in humility some lines later by recognizing that beyond his ken, "whose end no eye can reach" (556), is an unfathomable mystery. Nevertheless, his revelatory exclamation and the essentially "solitarie way" of all creatures I have argued for are intimations that the enemy of God and his quest of destruction are aspects of the creative Word and its path of life.

Notes to Chapter 7

¹ 'Innumerable sands' is a common biblical metaphor for a multitude, as in the promises to Abraham (Gen 22:17; etc.) and to Jacob (32:12). Here the metaphor suggests Satan's vision of total dissolution as the ultimate fulfillment of God's promise, so even the obvious sense of the narrative has concealed ironies. Cyrene and Barca (a city of Cyrenaica, of which Cyrene was the capital city) refer to the desert region southeast of Carthage, the home of Dido's enemies (Aen 4.42-3; cf. Graham and Warmington). Since Carthage is identified with Hell (in the epic construction motif applied to both, as well as through the greater epic parallel) Satan's vision also suggests innumerable enemies.

² Which level of the poem one considers major and which minor may, however, be open to argument. Commenting on Satan's invasion of Paradise, for example, MacCaffrey makes the covert sense the major one: "The tangled ascent of the hill...is part of the poem's sub-theme in which Satan is a hero on the perilous quest. Meanwhile, however, the major pattern is moving on beneath the surface" (57)--the pattern, that is, of Satan's continuous descent into ever lower states of being.

³ In the poem (as elsewhere) the word 'wander' and its various forms usually suggest straying from the right path, 'error' in the ordinary sense, but this is not invariably true: see, for example 4.234ff; 5.177ff; 7.48-50; 297-303; 328-31; etc., where the context connotes uninhibited, delightful movement. On the meanings in this word ("in the lexicon of the epic and in Christian history, both to stray and to roam") and its relation to the Israelite Exodus, see the excellent discussion in Tayler, 98-104. In its unfallen meaning ("to roam"), the nature of 'wandering' is at the basis of Milton's conception of the paradisaical garden and life in it; for these issues, see Blackburn; and Lewalski, "Innocence and Experience," both of whom relate Milton's Paradise to the nature of unfallen innocence and perfection. Greene notes that, "The creation is the setting in movement of a dance, the dance of jocund universal praise, wherein nothing is inert or heavy and nothing seems to rest" (402); and Burden anchors this dynamism and the tendency to misrule in the biblical command to "subdue" the earth and to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish" it (44-5; Gen 1:28). In *The Return of Eden*, Frye remarks that Eden is "a world in the human form of a garden, where we may wander as we please but cannot lose our way" (31). Cf. Diane McColley, "Eve's Dream," 26-8, 35, 41; and "Shapes of Things Divine," 49-50 (note the list of scholars who have discussed prelapsarian growth, 49, n. 6); Samuel, 237-8; and MacCaffrey, 152-6.

⁴ Note Ovid's emphasis on the Minotaur as a monster of sexual shame and a reproach to Minos, Met 8.155ff; cf. PL 9.1096-8.

⁵ Satan's attitude towards innocent sexual exposure is made obvious through his role as voyeur, for which see 4.356ff; 492ff.; in the latter place, for example, the potentially demonic aspects of Jupiter and Juno are, as it were, suppressed only to emerge violently in the following speech of Satan. Corresponding to the innocent love-play is the scene of fallen sex in Book 9, when Adam and Eve lie shamefully exposed (9.1052-9) in something like a drunken stupor (1008), thus prefiguring the act of Noah that led to the sin of Ham, for which the curse fell on Canaan (Gen 9:22-5; cf. Ex 32:6 in

conjunction with 1 Kings 12:28-33, and Chapter 6, note 16 (3)). In *The Club of Hercules* (78-81) Harding notes that the intoxicated Adam's compliment to Eve on this occasion alludes to Zeus's words to Hera, who seduced him to prevent his noticing the intervention of Poseidon against Troy--thus again seduction by a woman is linked to the fall of an enclosed precinct (Il 14.292-353)--and he cites Pope's comment in Newton's edition that the Homeric passage links the scene of fallen love-making in Book 9 to the description of the bridal bower in Book 4 (697-703), which echoes the words and cadences of its Homeric original. "It follows," comments Harding, "that the earlier passage must therefore be part of the elaborate and largely secret machinery to prepare our minds for the Fall....The clandestine discrediting of Adam and Eve, we are forced to conclude, begins almost with the first lines which described them to us" (80-1). If, as I argue, we interpret these subtextual hints as belonging to the bower on the parody demonic level, then we are not at all forced to such a conclusion.

⁶ Cf. Patterson, who deals with this incident as "a rapturous trance" in the Narcissus tradition (468), but he allows it an element of "uprightness" I do not find there (469).

⁷ 'One' and 'own' were both pronounced as the latter is now; see Dobson, 2:676, 694.

⁸ Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 66b-69; Macrobius, *Commentary* 1.11.10-12.

⁹ As I point out in the Introduction, Collett is thus unable to account adequately for the allusion to Circe at 9.521-2, which he finds "a seemingly gratuitous association" (94).

¹⁰ *Christian Doctrine* 1.12 (396); cf. 1.3 (155); PL 11.511-13.

¹¹ For this perspective on the classical goddesses and Eve, see, for example, Diane McColley, "Shapes of Things Divine." Contrast the equally one-sided study by Demetrakopoulos.

¹² See, esp., 9.888-95, where Adam's reaction to Eve alludes the following: (1) Aen 2.119-21, where in Sinon's false tale told to the Trojans to deceive them into accepting the Horse, the Greeks supposedly react thus to news that a life (i.e., Sinon's) must be sacrificed before they can leave the Trojan shores; (2) Statius, *Thebaid* 7.145-50, where Bacchus reacts thus in horror at the impending destruction of Thebes by the Greeks; (3) Aen 12.951-2, where the dying Turnus reacts similarly. The first two of these are appropriately tragic and are concerned with the fall of a sacred urban precinct; the third with the decisive act that founds the New Troy. In *Club of Hercules*, Harding cites the simultaneous allusion to the first and third as a pooling of "all their relevant implications" (96), without saying what is relevant. Perhaps the third suggests what Michael later reveals at the end of history, the rising of the new world out of the death of the old (12.547-51, quoted above).

¹³ I discuss this kind of argument briefly in the Introduction, pp. 28-9.

¹⁴ On Diana as the *dea virgo* see Ovid, *Met* 12.28-9; Martial 10.92.8. In *A History of Religious Ideas*, Eliade points out that Diana (or Artemis) "governs the sacrality of wild life, which knows fertility and maternity but not love and marriage" and is "patroness at once of hunters, wild animals, and girls" (1:279); she is thus not a goddess of regulated nature nor one whose followers enjoy the society of men. In *Occultism*, Eliade points out that in Western Europe Diana became "the chief of the witches" (79; 78-80), a development, one would guess, of her close relationship with Hecate.

¹⁵ See Fowler's note to 9.270 (453).

¹⁶ For the idea of virginity in Milton compare the Elder Brother's speech on that subject in *Comus* (418-75), where it is the physical basis for the Lady's power against ultimate assault, and where Diana is the first witness

called "from the old Schools of Greece / To testify the arms of Chastity" (439-40); see *A Variorum Commentary*, 2.3:913. The parallel between Eve and the Lady might lead one to think Eve's "Virgin Majestie" solely an expression of her strength, but it can be taken in precisely the opposite sense. In the classical modality of Comus the physical condition of virginity is a positive analogy for the inward and spiritual purity that in the Bible is typified by the figure of the redeemed whore as well as by the figure to whom Eve corresponds, the faithful bride; in *Paradise Lost*, in which the biblical framework is explicit, physical virginity has no positive role after Eve and Adam have entered into "the Rites / Mysterious of connubial Love" (4.742-3; cf., however, Brodwin, "Milton and the Renaissance Circe," 51-4). Thus the poet interposes in his praise of that love harsh criticism of the false purity of hypocrites and ends with a celebration of increase (744-9). Cf. MacCaffrey's comment that "virginity is hardly visible in the abundant nature of *Paradise Lost*" (147).

¹⁷ The story of Latona's pursuit by Python, sent by jealous Juno, is related, for example, in Hyginus, Fab. 140, and in Servius, on Aen 3.73. Apollodorus (1.4.1) and others say she was pursued by Hera herself. For further classical references and a discussion of the legends of Delian sacredness, see Frazer, *Apollodorus*, 1:25-6 n.

¹⁸ Cf. PL 11.589-91; 683ff; 9.1013-5; 10.616ff.

¹⁹ Note, for example, 2 Chr 24:18 and Ex 34:13. See also Reed; and Pritchard, *Palestinian Figurines*, Chapter 4.

²⁰ In the Vulgate *asherah* is translated generally by *lucus* and *nemus*; at Judg 3:7 by *Astaroth* (J-T *idola lucorum*); and at 1 Kings 11:5, 33 (where the AV has *Ashtoreth*) by *Astarthe* (J-T *Haschtoreth*). The LXX uses *álsos* (also for the oracular trees of 2 Sam 5:24 and by Strabo for Daphne's grove); *déndra*; and at 2 Chr 15:16 and 24:18, *Astarte*, "an example of the confusion between *Asherah* and *Ashtoreth*, common at the time of the Greek translation of the Old Testament" (Pritchard, 62). See also Reed, 6-9; and Oden, 79-81, 94-98. *Astarte* is identified with *Venus* by Cicero, *De Natura Deorum* 3.23.59.

²¹ See also Oden for a detailed examination of the relation among Syrian, Canaanite, and Greek deities at Lucian's time. In Lucian's description of the cult at Hieropolis, the ritual prostitution, self-mutilation, child sacrifices, and phallic worship recall several biblical condemnations of Canaanite practices. For the phallic rites, see the Vulgate's commentary on the *Asherah*-worship of Maachah's mother, who is described as "princeps in sacris Priapi, et in luco eius," "chief in the sacred rites of Priapus, and in his grove" (1 Kings 15:13; cf. 2 Chr 15:16), and her idol a "simulacrum turpissimum," "a most shameful idol"; cf. J-T, where the ritual object is a *horrenda statua cum luco*. See Selden's extensive elaboration of phallic worship connected with Baal-Peor in *De Dis Syris*, 65-74; and in conjunction with *Astarte-Ashtoreth*, etc., 141-71.

²² For an extended play on the etymology of 'Vertumnus' that brings out his mutability as god of seasons and shape-shifter, see Propertius, *Elegies* 4.2; and cf. Horace, *Satires* 2.7.14; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.410; and Frazer's discussion in *Fastorum libri sex*, 4:253-8. Both Propertius (4.2.3-4) and Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 5.46, note his Etrurian origins, for the significance of which in *Paradise Lost* see Chapter 5, p. 215.

²³ The number of seeds she eats varies but the kind of fruit and the consequences of eating do not. See the Homeric Hymn *To Demeter* 370ff; Apollodorus 1.5.3; Ovid, *Met* 5.529-42; *Fasti* 4.601-8; Servius, on *Georgics* 1.39 and Aen 4.462; and see Frazer's note on the motif, in *Apollodorus*, 1:39-41 n.

24 See the Homeric Hymn To Demeter 305-13, 331-3, 347-56, 470-3; Ovid, *Fasti* 4.615-18; and cf. Frazer, *Fastorum libri sex*, 3:306.

25 On repetition as an epic device, see Ferry, 149-50.

26 The small cluster of words involving 'in' from 9.413-17 (4 in 5 lines), otherwise perhaps unremarkable, echoes that occurring between 9.55 and 191, where I count the preposition "in" occurring 29 times, "into" 4, "within" 2, and find "in-" used as a prefix for the following, each of which occurs once: "inspection" (83), "inward" (97), "incarnate" and "imbrute" (166), "involv'd" (75), "intent" (162), "inspir'd" (189). Note also "Indus" (82), "Imp" (89), "interchange" (115), "enter" (90), "entrance" (61, 68), where sound begins to overtake sense. The phoneme is thus found, on the average, in nearly every third line. Not every occurrence denotes inward movement or even containment, but those that do not make the point more forcefully, for with Satan's obsession or "bent" (55) they represent the subliminal pull on and distortion of all his mental energy towards the centre of the chthonic labyrinth.

27 Cf. Isaiah's king of Assyria, "the waters of the river, strong and many, even the king of Assyria...[who] shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks" (8:7).

28 Cf. J-T "occlussit."

29 Cf. Harding, *Club of Hercules*: "Eve is metaphorically devouring her own progeny, the whole human race!" (96).

30 The reality of Satan's supposed triumph is told in his action: "Back to the Thicket slunk / The guiltie Serpent" (9.784-5); not only is he superfluous at this point, but the concealed metaphor of premature animal birth or abortion in the word "slunk" (cf. 10.332; *OED*, s.v., "slink," sb. 1), implies his ultimate failure.

31 Cf. the sudden interruptions and contrasts at 4.502ff; 713-19, where Pandora, though only 'less lovely' than Eve, is nonetheless a sudden reminder of the Fall; 744-9; 753-4; 765-70.

32 For Eve in relation to Proserpina, see Fisch, *Jerusalem and Albion*, 131-2; Diane McColley, "Shapes of Things Divine," 49-50; Blessington, 54; Collett, "Milton's Use of Classical Mythology," 93.

33 See Apollodorus 3.14.4; Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.7; Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.21.1.

34 Satan spies naked Eve veiled by a fragrant cloud amidst roses, which she supports with myrtle (9.424-31); in the *Fasti* Venus' statue, decked with roses, recalls two stories: first, when she was spied naked by the satyrs, she shielded herself with myrtle; second, when first brought to an eager spouse, she drank poppy juice in milk: "hoc bibit: ex illo tempore nupta fuit," Ovid says, "she drank it: from that time she was a bride" (4.133-54).

35 On Eve's dream and Satan's inspiration of it, see Bundy; Harding, *Club of Hercules*, 81-5; Schulz, 22ff; Diane McColley, "Eve's Dream"; Lewalski, "Innocence and Experience," 102-3; Giamatti, 334-9; Burden, 124-39.

36 Harding points out that Milton's description of Eve as "now to Death devote" (9.901) echoes Virgil's "pesti devota futurae," "doomed to future destruction" (*Aen* 1.712), applied to the doomed, love-sick Dido, a type of Eve (89; cf. 87-8). The reader will recall that Dido's city, Carthage, is a type of Hell.

37 The identity of bride and garden in the Canticles, for example, goes back to the archaic conception of the earth goddess. Pope discusses this subject throughout his commentary on the Canticles; see also J. N. Adams, 82-5.

38 For the goddess (Fors) Fortuna see Ovid, *Fasti* 6.771-84, where she is the *dubia dea*; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae* 74; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*

4.18-19; and see Matzke, esp. 312-29, where the classical evidence is reviewed. For Fortuna in relation to *kairos*, see also Pecheux, "Milton and *Kairos*," 202. Burden notes the role of chance in Satan's ideology and contrasts his reliance of it with Eve's choice to leave Adam (93-4)--thus Eve goes from a world of choice into a world of chance--and Frye, in *The Return of Eden*, discusses more broadly the demonic abstraction of the will of God into fatalism (34-5).

³⁹ Giamatti remarks that "Meer Serpent" "means not only 'simply a serpent,' but also that what seems is not what is" (339). It is tempting to speculate that "Meer" also means 'sea' (OED, s.v. "mere," sb. 1), as Satan is indeed elsewhere compared to sea serpents (e.g., Leviathan, and the serpents of the Laocoon episode), but the evidence for this reading is tenuous.

⁴⁰ See my discussion of this love-tale in Chapter 5, pp. 228-9; Origen, *Selecta in Ezechielem* (Migne, 13:797D-800B); Vulg Ezek 8:13; and de Vaux, *The Bible and the Ancient Near East*, Chapter 12, where the classical and patristic authorities are quoted and discussed.

⁴¹ See A. A. Anderson, 2:626; von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 1:275-8; and Tromp, 207-10.

⁴² See Chapter 6, pp. 286-7.

⁴³ Cf. 9.679ff, where the Tree begins to take on the quality of an animate being, like the Asherah of Canaanite belief. Eve's words in 9.801-2 have a decidedly sexual tone, as is appropriate to the 'Canaanite' spirituality she manifests; cf. the Latin metaphors of *pensilia*, 'the things which hang,' and *onus*, 'burden,' or *pondus*, 'weight,' discussed by J. N. Adams, 57, 71. He also cites the tale of the Enchanted Pear Tree in the medieval Latin comedy *Lidia* (or *Lydia*) 510ff, imitated by Boccaccio in the *Decameron* 7.9, in which the tree is phallic and the fruits seminal (29). Note that immediately after the completion of the Fall by Adam, their spiritual error becomes the corresponding sexual act, "of thir mutual guilt the Seale" (9.1043). For Eve's tree-worship, see Blessington, 61.

⁴⁴ On the one hand Adonis' hunt arouses a fearful beast from his covert (cf. 10.539-41; 545-52; 705-7), a beast that gives him a sexual wound (714-16); Venus hears his groans (*gemitus*, 719) and transforms his blood into a flower (728) coloured like a pomegranate (735-7), as Persephone (whose death and transformation were sealed by eating of a pomegranate, Met 5.535ff) once punished Menthe with a similar metamorphosis (10.728-30). On the other hand those youths pursuing sexual consummation with Atalanta gain only a bloody union (*thalamus cruentus*, *coniugium crudele*, 620-1) and pay the inevitable penalty with their groans (*gemitus*, 599). Through the connivance of Venus, Hippomenes appears more fortunate, but the doom that hangs over Atalanta (cf. 564-6) is fulfilled through the compensating vengeance of Venus, who provokes the lovers to enter a covert shrine ("prope templa recessus / speluncae similis," "nearby the temples a secluded place, like a cave" 691-2), from which they emerge transformed into fearful beasts (688-704; cf. 550-2, as above). The reference to Persephone not only makes the point that Venus' love is a kind of punishment or destructive theophany (like that of various gods for mortals in the *Metamorphoses*), but it also reminds us that the Adonis story runs parallel with Persephone's as a kind of matriarchial counterpart (cf. Apollodorus 3.14.4). Note Shakespeare's perceptive identification of Venus with the boar in "Venus and Adonis," 1109-22.

⁴⁵ Note Frye's point that, "Aristotle's hamartia...is a condition of being, not a cause of becoming" (*Anatomy of Criticism*, 213).

⁴⁶ Cf. the Homeric Hymn *To Earth the Mother of All*.

⁴⁷ As Homer relates it in Books 5-7, Odysseus comes from confinement on the

isle of "guileful Calypso, a dread goddess" (7.245-6), who is a type of underworld guardian, across chaotic seas (7.275-7), to refuge in the paradisaical land of Alcinous. He enters by means of a river (5.441), conceals himself in the vegetation (474-91), from which he emerges the next day first to startle and then to charm the maiden princess Nausicaa (6.127ff). She leads him into the city (255ff), and by her direction to the golden palace and luxuriant garden of the king, to which he passes concealed in a thick mist (7.14-17). Once in the palace he achieves acceptance first by clever pleading at the knees of the queen, Arete (142-52), as instructed by both Nausicaa and Athene (6.303-7; 7.53-5). Athene's controlling presence is with Odysseus every step of the way; her interventions are too numerous to require documentation. For Nausicaa as a type of Eve in the context of her approach by Satan, see Aryanpur, 153-60; Blessington, 59.

⁴⁸ See Chapter 6, note 41.

⁴⁹ "Sapient" (9.442) and "sapience" (9.797, 1018) involve an etymological pun on L. *sapere*, "to taste, to distinguish, thence to be wise, to know," as Patrick Hume noted in 1695 (Tayler, 69), thus "knowledge gained by tasting," Fowler remarks in his note to 9.439-43 (464).

⁵⁰ There is no clear biblical authority for linking the "prince's daughter" of the Canticles (7:1) with Pharaoh, but its consequences are fully in accord with the biblical understanding of his fall into apostasy.

⁵¹ Cf. Ex 1:8; this is Frye's point, in *The Great Code*, 93.

⁵² On *Occasio* see Matzke, 315-19, who quotes Phaedrus (5.8) and Ausonius (12.3), the two examples cited by Lewis and Short for this personification; and Tayler, 123-4. Matzke points out that *Occasio* is one of the Latin equivalents of Greek *Kairos*, which was also personified. On *kairos*, see my brief discussion in Chapter 1, note 19.

⁵³ Cf., however, J-T "defectum" and "mulcetur" for the Vulg "detrimentum patiat.".

Conclusion

I began this book with the question of the relationship between the Bible and *Paradise Lost*, and I assumed the Bible to be what I have called a paradigm or exemplary model for the poem. The book itself reflects that assumption in its two-part structure, and although it shares that structure with many other works in which background or source material is examined and then used in the interpretation of some subsequent work, the application of the biblical paradigm is uncommonly difficult to describe. The usual vocabulary of 'sources' and 'influences' is inadequate for a source like the Bible, which Northrop Frye has happily named the "mythological universe" of Western literature, both its matrix and quickening principle. Of necessity I have avoided dealing with the theoretical aspects of this problem directly, for to have done so would have meant abandoning the practical issues raised in the critical interpretation of a specific poem, and that I was not prepared to do. I have only suggested by example how the profoundly biblical structure of *Paradise Lost* is indicated by its obviously biblical content, and left to the future an exploration of the more difficult theoretical problems. In conclusion, however, I would like at least to indicate in more general terms what I have found to be the relationship between poem and paradigm, and to discuss very briefly some limitations of my work and directions of research that it suggests.

I.

In my discussion of biblical allusions I stressed their role in the poem as points of contact with the complex metaphorical domain of the Bible, which is evoked through each allusion in a form determined by both the literary and the biblical contexts. Any allusion in the poem could be used to demonstrate the limiting or defining power of the poetic context, but for biblical allusions it seems more useful to think of the power of context as *focusing* the apparently diffuse scriptural matter rather than limiting it. In various ways I have shown that it cannot in fact be limited. In order to make sense of a biblical allusion one must understand the paradigmatic structure of the text which the allusion represents, since otherwise that text cannot properly be seen as a type of a recurrent, eternal truth joining it to all other occurrences of its kind. Thus an allusion to Abraham, though he be explicitly named in the poetic text, does not so much *limit* what is evoked to Abraham as it brings all biblical patriarchs, the chosen people they embody, and the quests on which they are embarked to a focus in Abraham, who is thus a kind of macranthropos and type of the divine 'mystical body.' The first section of this book has consequently been devoted to describing the way in which any single figure, scene, or incident in the Bible becomes such a focus for all the rest, and the second section an illustration or series of illustrations of how *Paradise Lost* employs these foci or occurrences of the biblical paradigm as I have described it.

In several places I pointed out how the cosmography of Satan's quest as a whole matches the topography of the exodus, but for the most part I concentrated on manifestations of the exodus structure within single episodes of the demonic quest. There the exodus is less a metaphorical landscape or an appropriate piece of one than the description of a process, which I have called a threshold event. In Chapter 4 I gave an abstract account of how within the framework of the greater exodus such events perfect the quester by a threefold process of vision, choice, and judgment, and how each event is a microcosm of the structure that contains it. At each of Satan's metaphorical thresholds we have seen how the topography of the quest is suddenly redefined: the Promised Land he imagines himself in reach of becomes not merely unreachable, as the fruit was for Tantalus, but is revealed to be a demonic projection, as it was for the godless Israelites. Underlying the endlessly repeatable threshold experience, however, is a structure that does not repeat, namely the poetic narrative in which Satan's quest is embedded, which is itself one big threshold event. Because it moves through time (like all stories), it has an ending distinct from its beginning, and because it has a specifically biblical structure, the structure of the exodus, it tells the story of a perfective journey: one in which the demonic quester becomes ever more perfected in his evil as he goes from threshold to threshold. This is the old critical question of Satan's degeneration, which as the poetic subtext shows is neither jarringly imposed from above by a divine tyrant nor smoothly compelled by an unwavering inner necessity, as one wholly trapped in the horizontal dimension would imagine. A form of the exodus, it is both gradual and discontinuous, the apocalyptic truth of Satan's chosen condition arising out of the shadows of his apparent magnificence with such harsh rhythm as the *psychomachia* of a fallen angel gives it.

The exodus is thus manifested both as the shape of the whole story and as the structure of each episode within that story, and in the interaction between the two it determines the curious identity of progress and paralysis characteristic of Satan's restless and always frustrated attempts at his Promised Land. In some cases we saw that the exodus is evoked by allusion to an incident in the biblical narrative, and in some cases by reference to a classical analogue. In others, however, the paradigm is present in a form that is much less easily classified. In Chapter 1 I called this kind of paradigmatic presence an "unspecific allusion" or an "archetypal analogy," namely, a situation or figure that corresponds morphologically to something in the Bible, often without any overt connection. When, for example, Satan is circling the earth prior to his second invasion, we know from other, more specific allusions and from the larger pattern they establish that his going round in some sense evokes the classical *amburbium*-in-reverse (as at Troy) and the biblical conquest of Jericho, although there are no allusions as such to the specific urban conquests. Nevertheless, Satan's withershins movement is clearly that kind of thing and what one might call the archetype of the later events. What is of interest at the moment is how we know this, i.e. by what signs and by what means we know to read certain verbal artifacts as signs. In typological terms this amounts to the question of how one recognizes a type in the data of a given text.

As I just suggested, in his epic Milton has been sedulous from the beginning to provide obvious points of contact with the Homeric-Virgilian story of Troy and with the Israelite Exodus, so that he who is both Odyssean



quester and godless spy appears to be acting according to plan. These points, important as they may be, are only epiphenomena, however. What underlies them is the exodus, which is not just a story, however complex and resonant, but according to the biblical claim the paradigm of all stories. In a sense the paradigmatic status accorded the biblical story is the point and is prior to any evidence for it. Historically we know that Milton regarded the Bible in that way, and we can find abundant evidence for a biblical presence, but it is also true that reading *Paradise Lost* with the biblical paradigm in mind organizes one's perception of the poem so that the paradigm appears everywhere it is. That is, if we attend to the poet he teaches us how to read the Bible at the same time as the Bible (thus understood) teaches us how to read the poem. This, I would argue, is the experience of reading Milton has made possible by means of his allusions and analogies, and when one can no longer say whether a given reference is explicit (an allusion) or implicit (an analogy) one has evidence of the profound extent to which the poet has written a truly biblical poem.

I mentioned before that the poet uses classical analogies to expand the biblical vision, but I have only indirectly dealt with the way in which these analogies tend to cluster around recurrent situations and persons within the poem. Characteristic of Satan, for example, are certain mythical figures, things, and events that gathered in this way about him (either explicitly or implicitly) appear to have something like a family resemblance. We have seen that Narcissus, for example, is one of Satan's nearly constant 'shadows'; since he is such a perfect expression of the mentality of projection, it is very difficult not to find him lurking about whenever Satan sees reflections

of himself in his surroundings. Tantalus is another such shadowy companion and is linked to Narcissus, we saw, by Ovid. His story is less complete: it tells simply of frustrated desire, though usefully with the image of unreachable fruit. The self-gazer's image of astonishment associates Narcissus and his kind with various stories of apotropaic visions and devices, especially that of Daedalus (who devises and escapes them, i.e. is their master) and the labyrinth, the central metaphor of turning aside into error or away from a protected enclosure. As trickster and culture-hero Daedalus leads us to Odysseus, who is also associated with metaphors of labyrinthine wandering and who as the famed 'sacker of cities'--especially Troy, the city of Helen and of Aeneas--is also a master of labyrinths, though more the penetrator than the deviser. These and several other stories, one suspects, belong together as varieties or developments of what I have called the threshold event. Whether from a purely classical perspective one could find an adequate basis to support this notion of metaphorical clustering may be doubted, though Ovid certainly thought in that way, as a study of Narcissus in the context of the stories in the Cadmus cycle would show. My point is that within the framework of the demonic exodus these mythologems are in fact aspects of Satan's typical threshold ordeal: their potential for association has been actualized by the context in which we find them (cf. Fisch, "Hebraic Style and Motifs," 49). The fact that they can so easily be thought of in this way suggests that their affinity with the exodus comes from their inherent structure, but unfortunately such matters are beyond the scope of my argument.

Whatever may be true of it elsewhere, this phenomenon of clustering is thus also a manifestation of the exodus. As I have noted with Auerbach (*Mimesis*, 14ff), the biblical claim to absolute revelation means that all events and stories must somehow be types of itself. The gathering of these allusions and references into clusters is the poet's (and the reader's) response to that claim, or, one might prefer, to the power of biblical mythology to find room within itself for any story whatever and to speak through it with an expanded range of expression. I cannot argue this generally, but an example from *Paradise Lost* may be useful. The incident in which Satan looks backwards at his astonished troops in "th' oblivious Pool" brings Narcissus, the labyrinth, and the apotropaic vision into relation with a pharaonic Moses, who is calling his people up from a Red Sea passage in reverse, backwards into what will become the archetype of Egypt. The astonished self-gazer, however, combines with the Promised Land imagery with which the fiery shore was previously invested to call forth the biblical context of what Jeremiah called "walking backwards" into the demonic Promised Land of an evil imagination. The complex resonance of metaphor we find here is possible because of two complementary references: one from a classical analogy to a certain rather loosely defined set of biblical passages and from there to a paradigmatic structure; the other in reverse, bringing into the poem a paradigm resonant with types of itself, some of which we can name, others of which are meaningfully indistinct. Thus, speaking of the phoenix Greene remarks that, "The meaning of such an image really has an open end, and no one can know precisely at what point to delimit it" (397). We may delimit it in practice through our own ignorance or in order to make a finite statement, but we should be clear who has built the fences.

Just as the exodus is a paradigm of the story as a whole, of the episodes in the story, and of the mythologems clustered within each episode or around Satan as he moves through them, so it also is conveyed by the language in which the poem is written. As we have repeatedly seen, many allusions function through verbal echo or translation of passages in standard works, but these allusions are really a special case of a more general phenomenon. Individual words may have such strong resonance by virtue of their usage in the Bible that whatever else they may signify in the poem, they are bound to carry a biblical context with them and therefore to have a paradigmatic significance, though it may be covert. In the Authorized Version, for example, 'grove' is used almost exclusively for a Canaanite religious shrine or object, the Asherah; and 'deluge', of course, refers almost automatically to the flood of Noah. Other words, less independently charged with biblical content, may nevertheless attract it under the influence of the poetic passages in which they occur. As I showed in the chapters on the Bible, each metaphorical region of the exodus defines a characteristic vocabulary, so that these words in the appropriate poetic context will tend to evoke the paradigmatic biblical context. 'Error' is primarily a word of the Wilderness, for example, especially when it carries the Latin sense of 'wandering,' though what kind of Wilderness depends on the poetic passage in which it is found. 'Prison,' 'tower,' and other urban terms are almost unambiguously Egyptian (in the sense I have defined), as are the various metallurgical and alchemical terms. Expressions of natural abundance may either belong to the true Promised Land or to the false one of Egypt, or they may be taken to indicate both at once. Proper nouns are naturally a simpler matter; their identification with the

regions of the exodus depends on the same principle of metaphor by which all demonic kingdoms are the same kingdom, which I have called Egypt. Many more examples could be assembled, but I think my point is served just as well by this small list. It indicates that individual words themselves can verge on becoming allusions, not only because many of the 'allusions' lack distinctive specificity but also because the words themselves have become charged with paradigmatic meaning.

Thus all levels of the poem -- the story, the episode, the mythologem, and the word -- are possessed by the biblical paradigm, and since these 'levels' are in fact simultaneous, the relationship between *Paradise Lost* and the Bible is a complex resonance that both eludes critical discussion and perpetually provokes it. I have quite deliberately attempted to explicate only a part of the whole, but as I said at the beginning that part should be sufficient to indicate how the remainder would be done.

II.

In the Introduction I cited Robert Adams's call "for some secure principle of controlling and coordinating what we already know" about *Paradise Lost* and claimed that my biblical paradigm would provide it. I now want to question both the desirability of this principle and the effectiveness of my paradigm. Do we want security and control? If so, in what sense? What kind of order does the biblical paradigm bring to our understanding of the poem?

First of all, now that I have shown what binds the two halves of my book I can safely separate them into the categories of promise and fulfillment. Despite its generality, my discussion of the exodus is designed for its specific application to Satan's quest, and my reading of the quest reflects the exodus as I have conceived it. This is certainly circular argumentation, though, again, it is not vicious. As a written embodiment of what Frye has called our "mythological universe," the Bible 'contains' the poem; I would liken it to some invisible exoskeleton whose presence is known by the shape of what it supports; from such a perspective, the structuring paradigm tends to become the primary reality. Through allusion, analogy, and finally by extensive paraphrase in the last two books, however, the poem also 'contains' the Bible, which it shapes to its specific ends; this perspective, in contrast to the other, emphasizes how the poet has read the Bible, so that the poem tends to become the primary thing. I spoke before of the two complementary kinds of reference involved in the relationship between a specific literary passage and its paradigmatic context; my point here is that the same kind of interrelationship holds for the whole of *Paradise Lost* and the Bible, and that in fact it is the only kind of relationship that makes literary critical sense for Milton's poem.

There are a few limitations with this approach as I have used it. One is that since I chose not to consider the unfallen world directly, I have not included the biblical imagery of Paradise and Promised Land except in the aspects of loss and elusiveness. A complete articulation of the exodus would comprehend such incidents as, say, Solomon's anointment at the Gihon Spring and pay more attention to the paradisaal imagery in the Psalms and Prophets; it

would, that is, attempt a much clearer Pisgah-sight than I have managed. Another follows from the limitation I imposed on my discussion of the Bible. The exodus motif is (I trust I have shown) well suited to the purposes of a spiritual journey and, by the nature of biblical narrative, capable of extension to the Bible as a whole, but in choosing it I had to sacrifice the comprehensiveness Frye has achieved in his book on the subject. Another limitation follows from the kind of criticism I chose to practice. One would like to know to what evidence one could find in the Seventeenth Century and earlier for the understanding of biblical narrative that I have suggested Milton the poet must have had. One would like to know what unsuspected doors on the Bible would be opened by other poets and scholars, and what other limitations of critical vision these would show up. Such is the work to be done.

In some ways I do not think that we really want to have a "secure principle" of control and coordination, if by that one means an answer that in Blake's words "Doth put the Light of Knowledge out" ("Auguries of Innocence," 96). Perhaps, in the words of a Zen master, "To give your sheep or cow a large, spacious meadow is the way to control him" (Suzuki, 27). Perhaps, to use a different metaphor, our situation as critics is comparable to our Grand Parents' in their rapidly growing garden, "Tending to wilde" (9.212), needing more hands for the labour of pruning and binding so as to encourage stronger and better growth. A desirable principle of control must, I think, originate with what makes the "large, spacious meadow" a meadow and not a barren vastness, or with what distinguishes the paradisaal garden from a Canaanite 'grove': in biblical terms the creative Word, which in both cases creates the

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former by its presence and by its absence makes the latter a chaos-tending mockery.

My aim has been to elucidate the creative, paradigmatic Word, to show how it has created *Paradise Lost* and how *Paradise Lost*, informed by its power, has recreated the Bible within itself. To accomplish this aim I have read the poem as prophecy of the living Word and taken Milton to be its bard, as I think he clearly desired to be taken and made ours: to be taken as Ezekiel took the scroll given him by God and ate it, "and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness" (3:3). If we are to know Milton, and hence to know ourselves, we must do the same.

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CONFIDENTIAL: MAY BE SHOWN
TO THE CANDIDATE ONLY
AFTER THE FINAL DOCTORAL

Biblical Language and Structure in ~~Paradise Lost~~ ^{EXAMINATION}
Report on thesis by Willard Lee Mc Carty.

This may be the best thesis I have read for the University of Toronto and is certainly among the two or three best. The knowledge shown of Biblical imagery and of Biblical commentary bearing upon that imagery is wide-ranging and impressive. It is matched by an alert understanding of classical myth and literature and of the opportunities they offer for assimilation to Biblical paradigms. The intensely detailed consideration of the episodes from Paradise Lost which the candidate examines shows careful attention to the text and a full knowledge of Milton commentary. Fortunately the thesis is not submerged ⁱⁿ by its scholarship. It remains readable despite a degree of congestion which one must respect rather than wish away.

The observations which follow relate to matters on the horizon of the thesis, as the candidate chooses to limit it, but which remain important though excluded. First there is strikingly, no mention at any point of Milton's De Doctrina Christiana. Even if we discard Kelley's primitive view of the Treatise as a gloss upon Paradise Lost, Frye's more advanced view of it as a nuisance which will not go away still requires it to be taken into account. I realize that the candidate's concern is not with doctrine but with imagery and archetypes. Nevertheless, the relationship between the former and the latter needs to be considered, particularly in a literary work where the doctrinal content is as extensive and aggressive as it is in Paradise Lost. Such a consideration need not be to the disadvantage of the thesis. Milton's emphasis on choice in his theology of free-will for instance, can be assimilated to the candidate's emphasis on freedom of choice and successive exodus thresholds. Milton's shift to a multiple temptation structure in his final poems can likewise be assimilated to the paradigm pursued by the candidate.

Another exclusion, made specifically by the candidate, is that of the perception of the Bible as literature in the

seventeenth century. Milton's main reference to this matter in The Reason of Church Government sees the Bible as a compendium of literary genres. It is possible that Protestant poetics were more elaborate than this. May Ann Radzinowicz for instance, sees the process of self-discovery and self-making in the Psalms as providing a paradigm which the Miltonic oeuvre repeatedly substantiates. Nevertheless, the finding may have to be that concern with Biblical doctrine outweighed concern with Biblical imagery however generously the latter may have been used to clothe invective against the Catholic Church. Such a finding would not necessarily undermine the thesis; but it would mean that the authorization for it would have to be archetypal rather than historical. It would need to rest on the elaboration of the archetype into a fully inclusive, metaphorically consistent universe which a poet such as Milton would naturally inhabit and invoke. It would then have to be argued that this universe and the necessary awareness of its deep structure were participated in by Milton's readers even if their preoccupations with the Bible ran in directions that were notably different.

The third notable exclusion arises from Mr McCarty's choice of episodes. He restricts himself to the first two books of the poem and to Satan's encounter with Eve. Nothing is said of the world of history or the world of light. Mr McCarty's reasonable defence is that the detailed and thorough application of his paradigm to the episodes he has selected should equip the reader to apply the paradigm elsewhere. Moreover, a thesis, even of this quality, running to over a thousand pages would be hard to accept and though Mr McCarty might make his points more economically, his method does call for consideration at length. I wish nevertheless, that he had not concentrated so exclusively on the demonic and on its associated paradigm of negative self-fulfillment. The contrast (and cunning resemblance) between the celestial and the demonic is a crucial part of the structure of Paradise Lost, forming the scale of judgement by which the reader arranges the poem morally. Mr McCarty's repeated references to the parody-demonic (I wish he would say "parodic") point to a standard of reference which is present in the poem and ought not to go unexamined.

If the celestial scenes were examined we would be looking at the episodes in which the Bible is most often quoted, except when Milton takes the place of scripture in the divine exposition of free-will. Is the Bible used doctrinally or paradigmatically? Hell is classical as Mr McCarty's own study indicates. Heaven is scriptural and a previous generation of Milton scholars found this a considerable constraint. Is Milton only able to evoke a Biblical paradigm successfully in a world from which the Bible is absent? Or does he provide a creative exemplification that is more than the implied converse of Satan's failure?

These questions require thought but, as I have already indicated, they lie at the horizon of Mr McCarty's thesis. The thesis is substantial and exceptional in its merits. I have no hesitation in recommending that it be approved for the Ph.D.

B. Ryan

10/9/84.